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The right Hon^{ble} Robert Dudley Earle of
Leicester, Baron of Denbigh, knight of the
noble order of S^t. George & S^t. Michall, and late
one of her Ma^{ties} ho^{ble} privy counsell etc.

W Marshall sculpsit.

LEYCESTERS

Common-wealth :

CONCEIVED, SPOKEN, AND

published with most ear-
nest protestation of all de-
tiffull good will and affe-
ction towards this
Realme ;

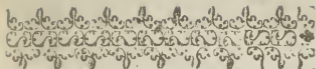
For whose good onely it is
made common to many.

Iob 20.27.

*The heavens shall reveale his iniquity, and the earth
shall rise up against him.*

Printed, 1641.





THE EPISTLE DIRECTORY,

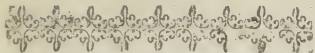
TO

M. G. M. IN GRATIOUS
Street in *London*.

DEare and loving friend, I received about tenne daies agoon your letter of the 9. of this present: wherein you demand and sollicite againe the thing, that I so flatly denied you, at my late being in your chamber: I meane to put in writing the relation which then I made unto you, of the speech had this last Christmas in my presence, betweene my right worshipfull good friend and patron, and his guest the old Lawyer, of some matters in our state and country. And for that you presse me very seriously at this instant, both by request and many reasons, to yeeld to your desire herein, and not only this, but also to give my consent for the publishing of the same, by such secret meanes as you assure me

The Epistle Dedicatory.

you can there find out: I have thought good to confer the whole matter with the parties themselves, whom principally it concerneth (who at the receipt of your letter were not far from me:) And albeit at the first I found them averse and nothing inclined to grant your demand: yet after upon consideration of your reasons, and assurance of secrecie (especially for that there is nothing in the same contained, repugnant to charity or to our bounden duty towards our most gracious Princes or Countrey, but rather for the speciall good of them both, and for the forewarning of some dangers imminent to the same) they have referred over the matter to mee, yet with this Proviso, that they will know nothing, nor yet yeeld consent to the publishing hereof, for feare of some future flourish of the ragged Staffe to come hereafter about their eares, if their names should breake forth: which (I trust) you will provide shall never happen, both for their security, and for your own. And with this I will end, assuring you that within these five or six dayes, you shall receive the whole in writing by another way and secret meanes, neither shall the bearer suspect what he carrieth: wherof also I thought good to premonish you. And this shall suffice for this time.



THE
PREFACE OF THE
CONFERENCE.



Not long before the last *Scholar.*
Christmasse, I was
requested by a letter
from a very worshipful
and grave Gentleman,
whose sonne was then

my pupill in *Cambridge*, to repaire with
my said *Scholar* to a certaine house of
his neare *London*, and there to passe over
the Holy-dayes in his company: for
that it was determined that in *Hillary*
tearme following, his said sonne should
be placed in some Inne of Chancery, to
follow the study of the Common-law,
and so to leave the Vniversity. This re-
quest was gratefull unto mee in respect
of the time, as also of the matter, but
espezially of the company. For that, as
I love much the yong Gentelman, my
pupill, for his towardlines in religion,
learning, and vertue: so much more I
doe reverence his Father, for the riper

The occasion
of this confe-
rence and
meeting.

The Preface.

possession of the same ornaments, and for his great wisdom, experience, and grave judgement in affaires of the world that do occurre : but namely touching our own Country, wherein truly I do not remember to have heard any man in my life, discourse more substantially, indifferently, and with lesse passion, more love and fidelity, then I have heard him. Which was the cause that I tooke singular delight to be in his company, and refused no occasion to enjoy the same. Which also he perceiving, dealt more openly and confidently with me, then with many other of his friends, as by the relation following may well appeare.

The persons and
place of this conference.

When I came to the foresaid House by *London*, I found there among other friends, an ancient man that professed the law, and was come from *London* to keepe his Christmas in that place, with whom at divers former times I had been well acquainted, for that he haunted much the company of the said Gentleman my friend, and was much trusted and used by him in matters of his profession, and not a little beloved also for his good conversation, notwithstanding some difference in religion between us. For albeit, this Lawyer was inclined to
be

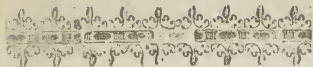
The Preface.

be a Papist, yet was it with such moderation and reservation of his duty towards his Prince and Countrey and proceedings of the same : as he seemed alwayes to give full satisfaction in this point to us that were of contrary opinion.

Neither did he let to protest oftentimes with great affection, that as he had many friends & kinsfolk of contrary religion to himselfe : so did he love them nevertheless for their different conscience, but leaving that to God, was desirous to doe them any friendship or service that he could, with all affection, zeale, and fidelity. Neither was he wilfull or obstinate in his opinion, and much lesse reproachfull in speech (as many of them be) but was content to heare whatsoever we should say to the contrary (as often we did :) and to read any booke also that we delivered him, for his instruction.

A temperate
Papist.

Which temperate behaviour, induced this Gentleman and me, to affect the more his company, and to discourse as freely with him in all occurrents, as if he had been of our own religion.



THE ENTRANCE TO THE MATTER.



On the day then of the Christmässe, we three retiring our selves after dinner, into a large Gallery, for our recreation, (as often wee were accustomed to doe, when other went to cards & others pastimes:) this Lawyer by chance had in his hand a little booke, then newly set forth, containing *A defence of the publique justice done of late in England, upon divers Priests and other Papistes for treason*: Which booke, the Lawyer had read to himselfe a little before, and was now putting it up into his pocket; But the Gentleman my friend, who had read over the same once or twice in my company before, would needs take the same into his hand againe, and asked the Lawyer his judgement upon the booke.

The booke of
Justice.

The Lawyer answered: That it was evill perceived in his opinion to prove the guiltines of some persons therein named in particular, as also to persuade in generall, that the Papistes both abroad and at home, who meddle so earnestly with defence and increase of their religion (for these are not all, said he) doe consequently wish and labour some change in the state: but yet whether so farre forth, and in so deepe a degree of proper treason, as here in this booke both in
gene-

Lawyer.

generall and particular 1. presumed and isforced, that (quoth he) is some what hard (I weene) for you or me (in respect of some other difference between us) to judge or discern with indifferency.

Gentleman.

Nay truly said the Gentleman, for my part I thinke not so, for that reason is reason in what religion soever. And for my selfe, I may protest, that I beare the honest Papist (if there be any) no malice for his deceived conscience, wherof among others, your selte can be a witnes: many his Practices against the state, I cannot in any wise digest, and much lesse may the Common-wealth beare the same (wherof we all depend,) being a sinne of all other, the most hainous, and least pardonable. And therefore seeing in this, you grant the Papist both in generall abroad, and at home, and in particular such as are condemned, executed and named in this booke to be guilty: how can you insinuate (as you doe) that there is more presumed or enforced upon them by this booke, then there is just cause so to doe?

*The Papists
practices against
the state.*

Lawyer.

Good Sir, said the other, I stand not here to examine the doings of my superiours, or to defend the guilty, but wish hartily rather their punishment that have deserved the same. Only this I say, for explication of my former speech: that men of a different religion from the state wherin they live, may be said to deale against the same state in two sorts: the one, by dealing for the increase of their said different religion, which is alwaies either directly, or indirectly against the state, (Directly) when the said religion containeth any point or article directly impugning the said state, (as perhaps you will say that the Roman Religion doth against the present state of England in the point of Supremacy:) and (Indirectly) for that every different religion divideth in a sort and draw.

*Two sorts of
dealing against
the state.*

Directly.

Indirectly.

draweth from the state, in that there is no man who in his heart would not wish to have the chief Governour and state to be of his religion, if he could: and consequently misliketh the other in respect of that: and in this kind, not only those whom you call busie Papists in England, but also those whom we call hot Puritans among you, (whose difference from the state especially in matters of governement is very well known) may be called all traytors, in mine opinion: for that every one of these indeed, do labour indirectly, (if not more) against the state, in how much soever each one endeavoureth to increase his part or faction that desireth a Governour of his own religion.

And in this case also, are the Protestants in France and Flanders under Catholike Princes: the Calvinists (as they are called;) under the Duke of Saxony, who is a Lutheran: the Lutherans under *Casimere*, that favoureth Calvinists: the Grecians and other Christians under the Emperor of Constantinople, under the Sophy, under the great Chame of Tartary, and under other Princes that agree not with them in religion. All which Subjects doe wish (no doubt) in their hearts, that they had a Prince and state of their owne religion, instead of that which now governeth them: and consequently in this first sense, they may be called all traytors, and every act they doe for advancement of their said different religion (dividing between the state and them) tendeth to treason: which their Princes supposing, do sometimes make divers of their acts treasonable or punishable for treason. But yet so long as they breake not forth unto the second kind of treason which containeth some actuall attempt or treaty against the life of the Prince, or state, by rebellion or otherwise: Wee doe not propriy condemne them

The state of all Subjects is a state of different religion.

The second kind of treason.

them for traytors, though they doe some acts of their religion made treason by the Prince his lawes, who is of a different faith.

The application
of the former
example.

And so to apply this to my purpose: I thinke, Sir, in good sooch, that in the first kind of treason, as well the zealous Papist, as also the Puritans in England, may well be called and proved traytors; but in the second sort (whereof wee speake properly at this time) it cannot be so precisely answered, for that there may be both guilty and guilties in each religion. And as I cannot excuse all Puritans in this point, so you cannot condemne all Papists, as long as you take me and some other to be as we are.

Gentleman.

I grant your distinction of treasons to be true, (said the Gentleman,) as also your application thereof to the Papists and Puritans (as you call them,) not to want reason, if there be any of them that mislike the present state (as perhaps there be:) albeit for my part, I thinke these two kinds of treasons, which you have put down, be rather divers degrees then divers kinds: wherein I will refer mee to the judgement of our Cambridge friend here present, whose skill is more in logicall distinctions. But yet my reason is this, that indeed the one is but a step or degree to the other, not differing in nature, but rather in time, ability or opportunity. For if (as in your former examples you have shewed) the Grecians under the Turke, and other Christians under other Princes of a different religion, and as also the Papists and Puritans (as you tearme them) in England (for now this word shall passe betweene us for distinction sake,) have such alienation of mind from their present regiment, and doe covet so much a governour and state of their owne religion: then no doubt but they are also
resol-

Two degrees of
treason.

resolved to imply their *forces* for accomplishing and bringing to passe their desires, if they had opportunity: and so being now in the first degree or kind of treason, doe want but occasion or ability, to breake into the second.

I rue Sir, said the Lawyer, if there be no other cause or circumstance that may withhold them. *Lawyer.*

And what cause or circumstance may stay them I pray you (said the Gentleman) when they shall have ability and oportunity to doe a thing which they so much desire? *Gentleman.*

Divers causes (quoth the Lawyer) but especially and above all other (if it be at home in their owne County) the fear of servitude under foraine nations, may restrain them from such attempts: as we see in Germany that both Catholiques and Protestants would joyne together, against any stranger that should offer danger to their liberty. And so they did against Charles the fifth. And in France not long agoe, albeit the Protestants were up in armes against their King, and could have been content, by the help of us in England, to have put him down, and placed another of their own religion: yet when they saw us once seized of New haven, and to like to proceed to the recovery of some part of our states on that side the Sea: they quickly joyned with their owne Catholiques againe to expell us. *France.*

In Flanders likewise, though Monsieur were called thither by the Protestants, especially for defence of their religion, against the Spaniard: yet we see how dainty divers chief protestants of Antwerp, Gaunt, and Bruges were, in admitting him, and how quick in expelling, so soon as he put them in the least feare of subjection to the French. *Flanders.*

And as for Portugall, I have heard some of the chiefest *Portugal.*

chiefest Catholiques among them say, in this late contention about their Kingdome : that rather then they would suffer the Castilian to come in upon them, they would be content to admit whatsoever aids of a contrary religion to themselves, and to adventure whattoever alteration in religion or other inconvenience might befall them by that means rather then endanger their subjection to their ambitious neighbour.

The old hatred of East Grecians towards the West Latins.

The like is reported in divers histories of the Grecians at this day, who doe hate so much the name and dominion of the Latines : as they had rather to endure all the miseries which dayly they suffer under the Turke for their religion and otherwise : then by calling for aid from the West to hazard the subjection to the said Latines. So that by these examples you see, that feare and horreur of externall subjection may stay men in states, and consequently also both Papists and Puritans in the state of England, from passing to the second kind or degree of treason, albeit they were never so deepe in the first, and had both ability, time, will, and oportunity for the other.

Scholar.

Here I presumed to interrupt their Speech, and said : that this seemed to mee most cleare, and that now I understood what the Lawyer meant before, when he affirmed, that albeit the most part of Papists in generall might be said to deale against the state of England at this day, in that they deal so earnestly for the maintenance and increase of their religion, and so to incurre some kind of treason : yet (perhaps) not so far-forth nor in so deepe a degree of proper treason as in this booke is presumed or inforced : though for my part (said I) I do not see that the booke presumeth or inforceth all Papists in generall to be properly

Not all Papists properly traitors.

perly traytors, but onely such as in particular are therein named, or that are by law attainted, condemned or executed: and what will you say (quoth I) to those in particular?

Surely (quoth he) I must say of these, much *Lawyer.*
 after the manner which I spake before: that some here named in this book are openly knowne to have beene in the second degree or kind of treason: as *Westmestland*, *Norton*, *Sanders*, and the like. But divers others (namely the Priests and Seminaries that of late have suffered,) by so much as I could see delivered and pleaded at their arraignmentes, or heard protested by them at their deaths, or gathered by reason and discourse of my selfe, (for that no forraigne Prince or wise counsellor would ever commit so great matters of state to such instruments:) I cannot (I say) but thinke, that to the wise of our state, that had the doing of this busines, the first degree of treason (wherein no doubt they were) was sufficient to dispatch and make them away: especially in such suspicious times as these are: to the end that being hanged for the first, they should never bee in danger to fall into the second, nor yet to draw other men to the same: which perhaps was most of all misdoubted.

The Priests and Seminaries that were executed.

After the Lawyer had spoken this, I held my *Gentleman.*
 peace, to heare what the Gentleman would answer: who walked up and down two whole turnes in the Gallery without yeelding any word again: and then staying upon the sudden, cast his eyes sadly upon us both, and said:

My masters, howsoever this be which indeed appertaines not to us to judge or discuss, but rather to perswade our selves, that the state hath reason to do as it doth, and that it must oftentimes as well
 prevent

prevent inconveniences, as remedy the same when they are happened: yet for my owne part I must confesse unto you, that upon some considerations which use to come unto my mind, I take no small griefe of these differences among us (which you terme of divers and different religions) for which we are driven of necessity to use discipline toward divers, who possibly otherwise would be no great malefactors. I know the cause of this difference is grounded upon a principle not easie to cure, which is the judgement and conscience of a man, whereunto obeyeth at length his will and affection, whatsoever for a time he may otherwise dissemble outwardly. I remember your speech before of the doubtfull and dangerous inclination of such as live discontented in a State of a different religion, especially, when either in deed, or in their owne conceipt, they are hardly dealt withall, and where every mans particular punishment is taken to reach to the cause of the whole.

I am not ignorant how that misery procureth amity, and the opinion of calamity moveth affection of mercy and compassion, even towards the wicked: the better fortune alway is subject to envie, and he that suffereth, is thought to have the better cause; my experience of the divers reignes and proceedings of King *Edward*, Queene *Mary*, and of this our most gracious Sovereigne hath taught me not a little, touching the sequell of these affairs. And finally (my good friends) I must tell you plaine (quoth he, and this he spake with great asseveration) that I could wish with all my heart, that either these differences were not among us at all, or else that they were so temperately on all parts pursued, as the common state of our country, the blessed reigne of her Majesty, and the common cause of true religion were not endangered

The considerations.

Misery moveth mercy.

A good wish.

gered thereby. But now : and there he brake off, and turned aside.

The Lawyer seeing him hold his peace and depart, he stepped after him, and taking him by the gowne, said merrily ; Sir, all men are not of your complexion, some are of quicker and more stirring Spirits, and doe love to fish in water that is troubled, for that they doe participate the Blackmoores humour, that dwell in *Guinea* (whereof I suppose you have heard and seene also some in the Land) whose exercise at home is (as some write) the one to hunt, catch, and sell the other, and alwayes he stronger to make money of the weaker for the time. But now if in England we should live in peace and unity of the state, as they doe in Germany, notwithstanding their differences of Religion, and that the one should not prey upon the other : then should the great Faulcons for the Field (I meane the favourites of the time) faile whereon to feed, which were an inconvenience as you know.

Truly Sir, said the Gentleman, I thinke you rove neerer the marke then you weene : for if I be not deceived, the very ground of much of these broiles whereof we talke, is but a very prey : not in the minds of the Prince or State (whose intentions no doubt be most just and holy) but in the greedy imagination and subtile conceit of him, who at this present in respect of our sinnes, is permitted by God, to tyrannize both Prince and State : and being himselfe of no religion, feedeth notwithstanding upon our differences in religion, to the fatting of himselfe and ruine of the Realm. For whereas by the common distinction now received in speech, there are three notable differences of religion in the Land, the two extreames, whereof are the Papist and the Puritan, and the

Lawyer.

The nature and practice of the Guineans.

Gentleman.

The Tyrant of English state.

Three differences of religion in England.

religious Protestant obtaining the meane: this fellow being neither, maketh his gaine of all: and as he seeketh a Kingdome by the one extreame, and spoile by the other: so he useth the authority of the third, to compass the first two, and the counter-mine of each one, to the overthrow of all three.

Scholar.

The Earle of Leicester.

To this I answered: In good sooth Sir, I see now where you are: you are fallen into the common place of all our ordinary talke and conference in the University: for I know that you meane my Lord of *Leicester*, who is the subject of all pleasant discourses at this day throughout the Realme.

Gentleman.

Not so pleasant as pittifull, answered the Gentleman, if all matters and circumstances were well considered, except any man take pleasure to jest at our owne miseries, which are like to be greater by his iniquity (if God avert it not) then by all the wickednesse of England besides: he being the man that by all probability, is like to be the bane and fatall destiny of our State, with the everision of true religion, whereof by indirect meanes, he is the greatest enemy that the Land doth nourish.

Lawyer.

The Lord Norths policy.

Now verily (quoth the Lawyer) if you say thus much for the Protestants opinion of him, what shall I say for his merits towards the Papists? who for as much as I can perceive, doe take themselves little beholding unto him, albeit for his gaine he was some yeeres their secret friend against you: untill by his friends he was perswaded, and chiefly by the Lord *North* by way of policy, as the said Lord boasteth, in hope of greater gaine, to step over to the Puritans, against us both, whom notwithstanding it is probable, that he loveth as much, as he doth the rest.

You

You know the Beares love, said the Gentleman,
 which is all for his own panch, and so this Bear-
 whelp, turneth all to his own commodity, and for
 greedinesse thereof, will overturn all if he be not
 stopped or muzzled in time. *Gentleman.*

And surely unto me it is a strange speculation,
 wherof I cannot pick out the reason (but onely
 that I do attribute it to Gods punishment for our
 finnes) that in so wise and vigilant a State as ours
 is, and in a Countrey so well acquainted and bea-
 ten with such dangers; a man of such a Spirit
 as he is knowne to be, of so extreme ambition,
 pride, falshood and trechery; so borne, so bred
 up, so muzzled in treason from his infancy, descen-
 ded of a tribe of traytours, and fleshed in con-
 spiracy against the Royall blood of King *Henries*
 children in his tender yeeres, and exercised ever
 since in drifts against the same, by the blood and
 ruine of divers others: a man so well knowne
 to beare secret malice against her Majesty, for
 causes irreconcilable, and most dradly rancour
 against the best and wisest Councillours of her
 Highnesse: that such a one (I say so hatefull)
 to God and man, and so markeable to the sim-
 plest Subject of this Land, by the publique en-
 signes of his tyrannous purpose, should be suffe-
 red so many yeeres without checke, to aspire to
 tyranny by most manifest wayes; and to possesse
 himselfe (as now he hath done) of Court, Coun-
 cell and Countrey, without controlement: so
 that nothing wanteth to him but onely his plea-
 sure, and the day already conceived in his minde
 to dispose as he list, both of Prince, Crown, Realm
 and Religion. *A strange spe-
 culation.*

It is much truly (quoth I) that you say, and it
 ministreth not a little mervaile unto many, wher-
 of your Worship is not the first, nor yet the tenth
Scholar.

The Queens Majestyes most excellent good nature.

person of account which I have heard discourse and complaine. But what shall I say hereunto? there is no man that ascribeth not this unto the singular benignity and most bountifull good nature of her Majesty, who measuring other men by her owne Heroicall and Princely sincerity; cannot easily suspect a man so much bounden to her grace, as he is, nor remove her confidence from the place, where she hath heaped so infinite benefits.

Gentleman.

No doubt (said the Gentleman) but this gracious and sweet disposition of her Majesty is the true originall cause thereof: which Princely disposition, as in her highnesse it deserveth all rare commendation, so lyeth the same open to many dangers oftentimes, when so benigne a nature meeteth with ingrate and ambitious persons: which observation perhaps, caused her Majestyes most noble Grandfather and Father (two renowned wise Princes) to withdraw sometime upon the sudden, their great favour from certaine Subjects of high estate. And her Majesty may easily use her owne excellent wisdom and memory, to recall to minde the manifold examples of perillous haps fallen to divers Princes, by too much confidence in obliged proditors: with whom the name of a Kingdome, and one houres reigne, weyeth more, then all the duty, obligation, honesty, or nature in the world. Would God her Majesty could see the continuall feares that be in her faithfull Subjects hearts, whiles that man is about her noble person, so well able and likely (if the Lord avert it not) to be the calamity of her Princely blood and name.

Fears that subjecte have of my Lord of Leicester

Sir Francis Walsingham.

The talke will never out of many mouthes and minds, that divers ancient men of this Realme, and once a wise Gentleman now a Councillour, had

had with a certaine friend of his, concerning the preface and deep impression, which her Majesties Father had of the house of Sir *Iohn Dudley*, to be the ruine in time of his Majesties royall house and blood, which thing was like to have been fulfilled soon after (as all the world knoweth) upon the death of King *Edward*, by the said *Dudley*, this mans Father: who at one blow, procured to dispatch from a possession from the Crown, all three children of the said noble King. And yet in the midst of those bloody practices against her Majesty that now is and her sister (wherein also this fellowes hand was so far, as for his age he could thrust the same) within sixteen dayes before King *Faryards* death (he knowing belike that the King should dye) wrote most flattering letters to the Lady *Mary* (as I have heard by them who then were with her) promising all loyalty and true service to her, after the decease of her brother, with no lesse painted words, then this man now doth use to *Queene Elizabeth*.

Deepe dissimulation.

So dealt he then with the most deare children of his good King and Master, by whom he had bene no lesse exalted and trusted, then this man is by her Majesty. And so deeply dissembled he then when he had in hand the plot to destroy them both. And what then (alas) may not we feare and doubt of this his son, who in outrageous ambition and desire of reigne, is not inferiour to his Father or to any other aspiring spirit in the world, but far more insolent, cruell, vindicative, expert, potent, subtile, fire, and fox like then ever he was? I like well the good motion propounded by the foresaid Gentleman, to his friend at the same time, and doe assure my selfe it would be most pleasant to the Realme, and profitable to her Majesty, to wit, that this mans actions might be called pub-

Sir Francis Walsingham.

likely to triall, and liberty given to good subjects to say what they knew against the same, as it was permitted in the first yeer of King *Henry* the eight against his Grandfather, and in the first of Queen *Mary* against his Father: and then I would not doubt, but if these two his Ancestors were found worthy to lose their heads for treason; this man would not be found unworthy to make the third in kindred, whose treacheries doe farre surpasse them both.

Edmund Dudley

Robert Dudley.

Lawyer.

After the Gentleman had said this, the Lawyer stood still, somewhat smiling to himselfe, & looking round about him, as though he had bin halfe afraid, and then said; My masters, doe you read over or study the Statutes that come forth? have yeu not heard of the *proviso* made in the last Parliament for punishment of those who speake so broad of such men as my Lord of *Leicester* is?

Gentleman.

The Law against talking.

Actions of Leicester whereof he would have no speech.

Yes, said the Gentleman, I have heard how that my Lord of *Leicester* was very carefull and diligent at that time to have such a Law to passe against talkers: hoping (belike) that his L. under that generall restraint might lye the more quietly in harbor from the tempest of mens tongus, which ratted busily at that time, of divers his Lordships actions and affairs, which perhaps himself would have wished to passe with more secrecie. As of his discontentment and preparation to rebellion, upon *Monsieurs* first coming into the Land; of his disgrace and checks received in Court; of the fresh death of the noble Earle of *Essex*; & of this mans hastily snatching up of the widow, whom he sent up and downe the Countrey from house to house by privie wayes, thereby to avoid the sight & knowledge of the Queenes Majesty. And albeit he had not onely used her at his good liking before, for satisfying of his owne lust, but also married and remarried

remarried her for contentation of her friends: yet denied he the same, by solemne oath to her Majesty, and received the holy Communion thereupon (to good a conscience he hath) and consequently threatned most sharp revenge towards all subjects which should dare to speake thereof: and so for the concealing both of this and other his doings, which he desired not to have publike, no marvaile though his Lordship were so diligent a procurer of that law for silence.

Indeed (said I) it is very probable that his Lordship was in great distresse about that time, when *Monsieurs* matters were in hand, and that he did many things and purposed more, whereof he desired lesse speech among the people, especially afterwards, when his said designements tooke not place. I was my selfe that yeer not far from Warwick when he came thither from the Court a full Male-content, and when it was thought most certainly throughout the Realm, that he would have taken armes soon after, if the marriage of her Majesty with *Monsieur* had gone forward. The thing in Cambridge and in all the Countrey as I rode, was in every mans mouth: and it was a wonder to see not onely the countenances, but also the behaviour, and to heare the bold speeches of all such as were of his faction.

My Lord himselfe had given out a little before at Killingworth, that the matter would cost many broken heads before Michaelmasse day next; and my Lord of *Warwick* had said openly at his table in Greenwich, Sir *Thomas Hennige* being by (if I be not deceived) that it was not to be suffered (I meane the marriage) which words of his once coming abroad (albeit misliked by his own Lady then also present) every Serving man and common companion, tooke then up in defence of his

Scholar.

Leicesters preparatives to rebellion upon Monsieurs marriage.

Lordships part against the Queenes Majesty. Such running there was, such se ding and posting about the Realme, such amplification of the powers and forces of *Casimere* and other Princes, ready (as was affirmed) to present themselves unto his aid, for defence of the Realme and Religion against strangers: (for that was holden to be his cause) such numbring of parties and complices within the Realme, (whereof himselfe shewed the Catalogue to some of his friends for their comfort) such debasing of them that favoured the marriage (especially two or three Councillours by name, who were said to be the cause of all, and for that were appointed out to be sharply punished to the terrour of all others :) such letters were written and intercepted of purpose. importing great powers to be ready, and so many other things done and designed, tending all to manifest and open warre: as I began hartly to be afraid, and wished my selfe backe at Cambridge againe, hoping that being there, my Scholars gowne should excuse me from necessity of fighting, or if not, I was resolved (by my Lords good leave) to follow *Aristotle*, who preferreth alway the Lyon before the Beare; assuring my selfe withall, that his Lordship should have no better successe in this (if it came to triall) then his Father had in as bad a cause, and so much the more for that I was privie to the mindes of some of his friends, who ment to have deceived him, if the matter had broken out. And amongst other, there was a certain Vice-president in the World, who being left in the roome and absence of another, to procure friends; said in a place secretly not far from Ludlow, that if the matter came to blowes, he would follow his Mistresse, and leave his Master in the briars.

To Sir Thomas
Layton.

L. Treasurer.
L. Chamberlaine
M. Controler.

Sir Thomas Hib-
bot. 3

Marry sir (qd the Gentleman) and I trow many more would have followed that example For albeit I know, that the Papists were most raised and misdoubted of his part, in that cause, for their open inclination towards *M. n/ieur*, & consequently, for greater discredit of the thing it selfe, it was given out every where by this Champion of religion, that her Majesties cause was the Papists cause (even as his Father had done in the like enterprise before him, though all upon dissimulation, as appeared at his death, where he professed himself an earnest Papist:) yet was there no man so simple in the Realm, which descried not this vizard at the first: neither yet any good subject (as I suppose) who seeing her Majesty on the one part, would not have taken against the other part, what so ever he had beene. And much more the thing it selfe in controversie (I meane the marriage of her royall Majesty with the brother and heire apparent of France) being taken and judged by the best, wisest and faithfullst Protestants of the Realme, to be both honourable, convenient, profitable and needfull. Whereby onely, as by a most soveraigne, and present remedy, all our maladies both abroad and at home, had at once been cured: all foreign enemies, and domestical conspirators, all differences, all dangers, all feares had ceased together: France had beene ours most assured; Spaine would not a little have trembled; Scotland had been quiet; our competitors in England would have quaked; and for the Pope he might have putt up his pipes. Our differences in religion at home, had been either less, or no greater then now they are, for that *M. sieur* being but a moderate Papist, and nothing vehement in his opinions was content with very reasonable conditions, for himselfe and his strangers onely in use of their

Gentleman.

Leicesters Father
a traiterous PapistThe honour and
commodities by
the marriage
with France.

consci-

Ethelbert King
of Kent, converted
An. Dom. 603

conscience not unlikely (truly) but that in time he might by Gods grace, and by the great wisdom and vertue of her Majesty have been brought also to embrace the Gospell, as King *Ethelbert* an heathen was by noble Queen *Bertha* his wife, the first Christian of our English Princes.

Unto all which felicity, if the Lord in mercy should have added also some issue of their royal bodies (as was not impossible, when first this noble match was moved,) we then (doubtlesse) had been the most fortunate people under heaven, and might have been (perhaps) the meane to have restored the Gospell throughout all Europe besides, as our Brethren of France well considered and hoped.

Of all which singular benefits both present and to come, both in *Re* and *Spe*, this tyrant for his own private lucre (fearing lest hereby his ambition might be restrained, and his treachery revealed) hath bereaved the Realme, and done what in himself besides, to alienate for ever and make our mortall enemy this great Prince, who sought the love of her Majesty with so much honour & confidence as never Prince the like, putting twice his owne person in jeopardy of the Sea, and to the perill of his malicious enviers here in England, for her Majesties sake.

LAWYER.

When you speak of *Monsieur* (said the Lawyer) I cannot but greatly be moved, both for these considerations well touched by you, as also for some other; especially one wherein (perhaps) you will thinke me partiall, but truly I am not; for that I speake it onely in respect of the quiet and good of my Countrey, and that is, that by *Monsieurs* match with our noble Princessse, besides the hope of issue (which was the principall) there wanted not also probability, that some union or little toleration
in

religion, between you and us, might have been procured in this state, as we see that in some other Countries is admitted to their great good. Which thing (no doubt) would have cut off quite all dangers and dealings from forraine Princes, & would have stopped mane devises and plots within the Realme: wheras now by this breach with France, we stand alone as me seemeth without any great union or friendship abroad, and our differences at home grow more vehement and sharp then ever before. Upon which two heads, as also upon infinit other causes, purposes, drifts and pretences, there doe ensue daily more deepe, dangerous and desperate practises, every man using either the commodity or necessity of the time and state for his owne purpose, especially now when all men presume that her Majesty (by the continuall thwartings which have been used against all her marriage) is not like to leave unto the Realme, that precious jewell so much and long desired of all English hearts, I meane the Royall heires of her owne body.

Tolleration in Religion, with union in defence of our Country.

Thwartings call you the defeating of all her Majesties most honourable offers of marriage? (said the other) truly in my opinion you should have used another word to expresse the nature of so wicked a fact: wherby alone, if there were no other, this unfortunate man, hath done more hurt to this Common wealth, then if he had murdered many thousands of her subjects, or betrayd whole armies to the professed enemy. I can remember well my selfe, foure treatises to this purpose, undetermined by his meanes: the first with the Swethen King. the second with the Archduke of Austria, the third with *Henry* King of France that now reigneth, and the fourth with the brother and here of the said Kingdome. For I let passe many other

Gentlemen.

Divers marriages of her Majesty.

other secret motions made by great Potentates to her Majesty for the same purpose, but these foure are openly known, and therefore I name them. Which foure are as well knowne to have been all disturbed by this *Dame*, as they were earnestly pursued by the other.

Leicesters devices to drive away all Sutors from her Majesty.

And for the first three Sutors, he drove them away, by protesting and swearing that himselfe was contracted unto her Majesty, wherof her highness was sufficiently advertised by Cardinall *Charlton* in the first treaty for France, and the Cardinall soone after punished (as is thought) by this man with poyson. But yet this speech he gave out then every where among his friends both strangers and others, that he, forsooth, was assured to her Majesty, and consequently that all other Princes must give over their suits, for him. Whereunto notwithstanding, when the Sweden would hardly give eare, this man conferred with his Privado to make a most unseemly and disloyal proof thereof, for the others satisfaction, which thing I am enforced by duty to passe over with silence, for honour to the parties who are touched therein: as also I am to conceale his said filthy Privado, though worthy otherwise for his dishonesty to be displayed to the world: but my Lord himselfe, I am sure, doth well remember both the man and the matter. And albeit there was no wise man at that time who knowing my Lord suspected not the falsehood, and his arrogant affirmation touching this contract with her Majesty, yet some both abroad and at home might doubt thereof perhaps: but now of late, by his knowne marriage with his *Minion Dame Lettice of Essex*, he hath declared manifestly his owne most impudent and disloyall dealing with his soveraigne in this report.

Leicester convinced himselfe of impudency.

For that report (quoth the Lawyer) I know that it was common, and maintained by many for divers yeeres; yet did the wiser sort make no account thereof, seeing it came onely from himself, and in his own behalfe. Neither was it credible, that her Majesty who refused so noble Knights and Princes, as Europe hath not the like, would make choice of so meane a peere as *Robin Dudley* is, noble onely in two descents, and both of them stained with the block, from which also himselfe was pardoned but the other day, being codemned therunto by law for his deserts, as appeareth yet in publick records. And for the widow of Essex, I marvaile sir (quoth he) how you call her his wife, seeing the Canon-law standeth yet in force touching matters of marriage within the Realme.

Lawyer.

The basenesse of
Leicesters ances-
tors.

Anno 1.R. Mary.

Oh (said the Gentleman laughing) you meane for that he procured the poisoning of her husband in his journey from Ireland. You must think that Doctor *Dale* will dispence in that matter; as he did (at his Lordships appointment) with his Italian physician Doctor *Iulio*, to have two wives at once; at the least wise the matter was permitted, and born out by them both publicly (as all the world knoweth) and that against no lesse persons then the Archbishop of Canterbury himselfe, whose overthrow was principally wrought by this tyrant for contrarying his will, in so beastly a demand. But for this controversie whether the marriage be good or no, I leave it to be tried hereafter, between my yong Lord of Denbighe, and Master *Philip Sidney*, whom the same molt concerneth: for that it is like to deprive him of a goodly inheritance, if it take place (as some will say that in no reason it can) not only in respect of the precedent adultery and murder betweene the parties; but also for that my Lord was contracted

Gentleman.

Doctor Dale.

Doctor Iulio.

The Archbishops
overthrow for
not allowing two
wives to Leice-
ster his Physician

at

The Lady She-
field now Em-
bassadresse in
France.

at least, to another Lady before, that yet liveth
whereof Master *Edward Diar* and Master *Edmond
Tiney*, both Courtiers, can be witnesses, and con-
sumated the same contract by generation of chil-
dren. But this (as I said) must be left to be tried
hereafter by them who shall have most interest
in the case. Onely for the present I must advertise
you, that you may not take hold so exactly of all
my L. doings in womens affaires, neither touch-
ing their marriages, neither yet their husbands.

For first his Lordship hath a speciall fortune,
that when he desireth any womans favour, there
what person so ever standeth in his way, hath the
luck to dye quickly for the finishing of his desire.
As for example, when his Lordship was in full
hope to marry her Majesty, and his owne wife
stood in his light, as he supposed; he did but send
her aside to the house of his servant *Forster* of
Cumner by Oxford, where shortly after she had
the chance to fall from a paire of staires, and so
to breake her neck, but yet without hurting of her
hood that stood upon her head. But Sir *Richard
Varney*, who by commandement remained with
her that day alone, with one man onely, and had
sent away perforce all her Servants from her, to
Market two miles off, he (I say) with his man can
tell how she died, which man being taken after-
ward for a felony in the marches of Wales, and
offering to publish the manner of the said murder,
was made away privily in the prison: and Sir
Richard himself dying about the same time in Lon-
don, cried pitioussly and blasphemed God, and said
to a Gentleman of worship of mine acquain-
tance, not long before his death, that all the devils
in hell did teare him in pieces. The wife also of
Bald Butler kinsman to my Lord, gave out the
whole fact a little before her death. But to returne

The death of
Leicesters first
Lady and wife.

Sir Richard Var-
ney.

Bald Butler.

unto my purpose, this was my Lords good fortune to have his wife dye, at that time when it was like to turne most to his profit.

Long after this he fell in love with the Lady *Sheffield*, whom I signified before, and then also had he the same fortune to have her husband dye quickly, with an extreame rheume in his head (as it was given out) but as others say, of an artificiall catarre that stopped his breath. The like good chance had he in the death of my Lord of *Essex* (as I have said before) and that at a time most fortunate for his purpose; for when he was coming home from Ireland, with intent to revenge himselfe upon my Lord of *Leycester*, for begetting his wife with childe in his absence (the childe was a daughter, and brought up by the Lady *Shandoies*, *W. Knooles* his wife:) my Lord of *Ley* hearing thereof, wanted not a friend or two to accompany the Deputy, as among other, a couple of the Earles owne servants, *Crompton* (if I misse not his name) yeoman of his bottles, and *Lloid* his Secretary, entertained afterward by my Lord of *Leycester*: and so he dyed in the way of an extreame flux, caused by an Italian *Recipe*, as all his friends are well assured; the maker whereof was a Chyrurgeon (as is beleevd) that then was newly come to my Lord from Italy: a cunning man, and sure in operation, with whom if the good Lady had beene sooner acquainted and used his helpe, she should not have needed to sitten so pensive at home and fearefull of her husbands former returne out of the same Countrey, but might have spared the young childe in her belly, which she was enforced to make away (cruelly and unnaturally) for clearing the house against the good mans arrivall.

Neither must you marvaile though all these died in divers manners of outward diseases, for this

The suspicious death of the Lord Sheffield.

The poisoning of the Earle of Essex.

The shifting of a childe in dame Lettice belly.

The divers operation of Roylor

Doctor Bayly the yonger.

is the excellency of the Italian art, for which this Chyrurgian and Doctor *Julio* were entertained so carefully, who can make a man dye, in what manner or shew of sicknesse you will: by whose instructions no doubt but his Lordship is now cunning, especially adding also to these the counsell of his Doctor *Bayly*, a man also not a little studied (as he seemeth) in his art: for I heard him once my selfe in publique Act in Oxtord, and that in presence of my Lord of *Leicester*, (if I be not deceived) maintain, that poyson might so be tempered and given as it should not appeare presently, and yet should kill the party afterward at what time should be appointed. Which argument belike pleased well his Lordship, and therefore was chosen to be discusied in his audience, if I be not deceived of his being that day present. So, though one dye of a flux, and another of a catarre, yet this importeth little to the matter, but sheweth rather the great cunning and skill of the Artificer.

Death of Cardinall Chatilian.

So Cardinall *Chatilian* (as I have said before) having accused my Lord of *Leicester* to the *Queens* Majesty, and after that, passing from London towards France about the marriage, died by the way at *Canterbury* of a burning fever: and so proved Doctor *Baylyes* assertion true, that poyson may be given to kill at a day.

Scholar.

At this the Lawyer cast up his eyes to heaven, and I stood somewhat musing and thinking of that which had beene spoken of the *Eagle* of *Essex*, whose case indeed moved me more then all the rest, for that he was a very noble Gentleman, a great advancer of true Religion, a Patron to many Preachers and Students, and towards me and some of my friends in particular, he had beene in some things very beneficiall: and there-

Therefore I said that it grieved me extremely to
 to see or thinke of so unworthy a death contrived
 by such meanes to so worthy a Peere. And so
 much the more, for that it was my chance, to come
 to the understanding of divers particulars concer-
 ning that thing, both from one *Lea* an Irish-man, Lea.
Robin Honnies, and others, that were present at Honnies.
Penereis the Merchants house in *Dublin* upon the
 Key, where the murder was committed. The
 matter was wrought especially by *Crompton* yeo-
 man of the bottels, by the procurement of *Lloyd*
 as you have noted before, and there was poyso-
 ned at the same time, and with the same cup (as
 given of curtesie by the Earle) one Mistresse *Ales*
Drayke, a goodly Gentlewoman, whom the Earle
 affectioned much, who departing thence towards
 her owne house, (which was 18. miles off, the
 foresaid *Lea* accompanying her, and waiting upon
 her) she began to fall sick very grievously upon
 the way, and continued with increase of paines
 and excessive torments, by vomiting, untill she
 died, which was the Sunday before the Earles
 death, ensuing the Friday after; and when she
 was dead, her body was swolne unto a mon-
 strous bignesse and deformity, whereof the good
 Earle hearing the day following, lamented the
 case greatly, and said in the presence of his Ser-
 vants, Ah poore *Alice*, the cup was not prepared
 for thee, albeit it were thy hard destiny to taste
 thereof.

Yong *Honnies* also, whose father is Master of
 the children of her Majesties chappell, being at
 that time Page to the said Earle, and accustomed
 to take the taste of his drink. (though since enter-
 tained also among other by my Lord of *Leicester*,
 for better covering of matter) by his taste that he
 then tooke of the compound cup, (though in very

small quantity, as you know the fashion is :) yet was he like to have lost his life, but escaped in the end (being yong) with the losse onely of his haire, which the Earle perceiuing, and taking compassion of the youth, called for a cup of drinke a little before his death, and drunke to *Honnies*, saying, I drinke to thee my *Robin*, and be not afraid, for this is a better cup of drinke then that whereof thou tookest the taste when we were both poysoned, and whereby thou hast lost thy haire and I must lose my life. This hath yong *Honnies* reported openly in diuers places, and before diuers Gentlemen of worship since his coming into England and the foresaid *Lea* Irishman, at his passage this way towards France, after he had been present at the forenamed *Mistris Draykots* death, with some other of the Earles servants, have and doe most constantly report the same, where they may do it without the terrour of my Lord of *Leicesters* reuenge. Wherefore in this matter there is no doubt at all, though most extreame vile and intollerable indignity, that such a man should be so openly murdered without punishment. What Noble-man within the Realme may be safe, if this be suffered? or what worthy personage will adventure his life in her Majesties service, if this shall be his reward? But, Sir, I pray you pardon me, for I am somewhat perhaps too vehement in the case of this my Patron and noble Peere of our Realme. And therefore I beseech you to goe forward in your talke whereas you left.

Gentleman.

Death of Sir Nicholas Throgmarton.

I was recounting unto you others (said the Gentleman) made away by my Lord of *Leicester* with like art, and the next in order I think was Sir *Nicholas Throgmarton*, who was a man whom my Lord of *Leicester* used a great while (as all the World know-

knoweth) to overthwart and crosse the doings of my Lord Treasurer then Sir *William Cecil*, a man specially disliked alwayes of *Leicester*, both in respect of his old Master the Duke of *Somerset*, as also for that his great wisdom, zeale and singular fidelity to the Realme, was like to hinder much this mans designments; wherefore understanding after a certaine time that these two Knights were secretly made friends, and that Sir *Nicholas* was like to detect his doings (as he imagined) which might turne to some prejudice of his purposes: (having conceived also a secret grudge and griefe against him, for that he had written to her Majesty at his being Embassadour in France, that he heard reported at Duke *Memorances* table, that the Queene of England had a meaning to marry her Horskeeper) he invited the said Sir *Nicholas* to a supper at his house in London, and at supper time departed to the Court, being called for, as he said, upon the sudden by her Majesty, and so perforce would needs have Sir *Nicholas* to sit and occupie his Lordships place, and therein to be served as he was: and soone after by a surfeit there taken, he died of a strange and incurable vomit. But the day before his death, he declared to a deare friend of his, all the circumstance and cause of his disease, which he affirmed plainly to be of poison, given him in a Salet at supper, inveying most earnestly against the Earles cruelty and bloody disposition, affirming him to be the wickedest, most perious, and perfidious man under heaven. But what availed this, when he had now received the ban?

The poisoning of Sir Nicholas in a salet.

This then is to shew the mans good fortune, in seeing them dead, whom for causes he would not have to live. And for his art of poisoning, it is such

now, and reacheth so far, as he holdeth all his foes in England and elsewhere, as also a good many of his friends in fear thereof, and if it were knowne how many he hath dispatched or assaulted that way, it would be marvailous to the posterity. The late Eale of *Suffex* wanted not a scruple for many yeers before his death, of some dram received, that made him incurable. And unto that noble Gentleman Monsieur *Simiers*, it was discovered by great providence of God, that his life was to be attempted by that art, and that not taking place (as it did not through his owne good circumspection,) it was concluded that the same should be assaulted by violence, whereof I shall have occasion to say more hereafter.

The Lord Chamberlin.

Monsieur Simiers

The poisoning of the Lady Lenox.

It hath beene told me also by some of the servants of the late Lady *Lenox*, who was also of the blood Royall by Scotland, as all men know, and consequently little liked by *Leicester*; that a little before her death or sicknesse, my Lord tooke the paines to come and visit her with extraordinary kindnesse, at her house at Hackney, bestowing long discourses with her in private: but as soone as he was departed, the good Lady fell into such a flux, as by no meanes could be stayed so long as she had life in her body; whereupon both she her selfe, and all such as were neere about her, saw her disease and ending day, were fully of opinion, that my Lord had procured her dispatch at his being there. Whereof let the women that served her be examined, as also *Fowler* that then had the chiefe doings in her affaires, and since hath beene entertained by my Lord of *Leicester*. *Mallet* also, a stranger borne, that then was about her, a sober and zealous man in religion, and otherwise well qualified, can say somewhat in this point (as I thinke) if he were deman-

deman-

demande. So that this art and exercise of poisoning, is much more perfect with my Lord then praying, and he seemeth to take more pleasure therein.

Now for the second point, which I named, touching marriages and contracts with Women: you must not marvaile though his Lordship be somewhat divers, variable and inconstant with himselfe, for that according to his profit or pleasure, and as his lust and liking shall vary (wherein by the judgement of all men, he surpasseth, not onely *Sardanapalus* and *Nero*, but even *Helio-gabalus* himselfe) so his Lordship also changeth Wives and Minions, by killing the one, denying the other, using the third for a time, and he fawning upon the fourth. And for this cause he hath his tearmes and pretences (I warrant you) of Contracts, Precontracts, Postcontracts, Protracts and Retracts; as for example: after he had killed his first wife, and so broken that contract, then forsooth would he needs make himselfe Husband to the Queenes Majesty, and so defeat all other Princes by vertue of his precontract. But after this, his lust compelling to another place, he would needs make a postcontract with the Lady *Sheffield*, and so he did, begetting two children upon her, the one a boy called *Robin Sheffield* now living, some time brought up at Newington; and the other a daughter, borne (as is knowne) at *Dudley* Castle. But yet after, his concupiscence changed againe (as it never stayeth) he resolved to make a retract of this postcontract, (though it were as surely done (as I have laid) as bed and Bible could make the same) and to make a certaine new protract, (which is a continuation of using her for a time) with the widow of *Essex*: but yet to stop the mouthes of

Leicesters most variable dealing with women in contracts and marriages.

Contracts.

Precontracts.

Postcontracts.

Retract.

Protract.

Leicesters two
testaments.

out-criars, and to bury the Synagogue with some honour, (for these two wives of *Leicester* were merrily and wittily called his old and new Testaments, by a person of great excellency within the Realme) he was content to assigne to the former a thousand pounds in money with other petty considerations, (the pittifullest abused that ever was poore Lady) and so betake his lims to the latter, which latter notwithstanding, he so useth (as we see) now confessing, now forswearing, now dissembling the marriage; as he will alwayes yet keepe a void place for a new surcontract with any other, when occasion shall require.

Scholar.

Now by my truth sir (quoth I) I never heard nor read the like to this in my life; yet have I read much in my time, of the carnality and licentiousness of divers outragious persons, in this kinde of sin, as namely these whom you have mentioned before; especially the Emperour *Heliogabalus* who passed all other, and was called *Varius*, of the varity of filth which he used in this kinde of carnality or carnall beastlinesse: whose death was, that being at length odious to all men, and so slain by his own Souldiers, was drawn through the City upon the ground like a dog, and cast into the common privy, with this Epitaph; *Hic profectus est indomite & rabide libidinis catulus*. Here is thrown in the Whelpe of unruly and raging lust: which Epitaph may also one day chance to serve my Lord of *Leicester* (whom you call the Beare-whelp) if he go forward as he hath begun, and dye as he deserveth.

Varius *Heliogabalus*, and his most infamous death.

An Epitaph.

A pittifull permission.

But, good sir, what a compassion is this, that among us Christians, & namely in so wel governed and religious a Common-wealth as ours is, such a riot should be permitted upon mens wives, in a
subject?

subject? whereas we read that among the very Heathens, lesse offences then these, in the same kinde, were extreemly punished in Princes themselves, and that not onely in the person delinquent alone, but also by extirpation of the whole family for his sake, as appeareth in the example of the *Tarquinius* among the Romans. And here also in our owne Realme, we have registered in Chronicle, how that one King *Edwin* above six hundred yeeres past, was deprived of his Kingdome, for much lesse scandalous facts then these.

The exerpation
of the *Tarquini-*
ans.

Anno Dom. 959.

I remember well the story (quoth the Gentleman) & thereby doe easily make conjecture, what difference there is betwixt those times of old, and our dayes now: seeing then, a crowned Prince could not passe unpunished with one or two outrageous acts, whereas now a subject raised up but yester day from the meaner sort, rangeth at his pleasure in all licenciousnesse, and that with security, void of fear both of God and man. No mans wife can be free from him, whom his fiery lust liketh to abuse, nor their husbands able to resist nor save from his violence, if they shew dislike, or will not yeeld their consent to his doings. And if I should discover in particular how many good husbands he had plagued in this nature, and for such delights, it were intolerable; for his concupiscence and violence do run joyntly together, as in furious beasts we see they are accustomed. Neither holdeth he any rule in his lust besides onely the motion and suggestion of his own sensuality; kindred, affinity or any other bond of consanguinity; religion, honour or honesty taketh no place in his outrageous appetite: what he best liketh, that he taketh as lawfull for the time. So that kinlwoman, allie, friends wife or daughter,

Gentleman.

The intollerable
licenciousnes of
Leicesters carnality.

or whatsoever female sort besides doth please his eye: (I leave out of purpose, and for honour sake, termes of kinred more neere) that must yeeld to his desire.

Money well spent

The keeping of the Mother with two or three of her daughters at once or successively, is no more with him, then the eating of an Hen & her chicken together. There are not (by report) two noble women about her Majesty (I speake upon some accompt of them that know much) whom he hath not solicited by potent wayes: neither contented with this place of honour, he hath descended to seeke pasture among the waiting Gentlewomen of her Majesties great chamber, offering more for their alluement, then I thinke *Lais* did commonly take in Corinth, if three hundred pounds for a night, will make up the sum; or if not, yet will he make it up otherwise: having reported himselfe (so little shame he hath) that he offered to another of higher place, an 100 pound lands by the yeere, with as many jewels as most women under her Majesty used in England; which was no mean bait to one that used traffick in such merchandize; she being but the leavings of another man before him, wherof my Lord is nothing squemish, for satisfying of his lust, but can be content (as they say) to gather up crumbs when he is hungry, even in the very Landry it selfe, or other place of baser quality.

Anne Vanifour.

The punishments of God upon Leicester to do him good.

And albeit the Lord of his great mercy, to doe him good, no doubt, if he were revokeable, hath laid his hand upon him, in some chastisement in this world, by giving him a broken belly on both sides of his bowels, whereby misery and putrifaction is threatned to him daily: and to his yong Sonne, by the widow of *Essex* (being *Filius peccati*) such a strange calamity of the falling

ling

ling sicknesse in his infancy, * as well may be a * The children of
 witnesse of the Parents sinne and wickednesse, adulterers sh ll
 and of both their wasted natures in iniquity: yet be consumed, and
 is this man nothing amended thereby, but accor- the seed of a wic-
 ding to the custome of all old adulterers, is more ked bed shall be
 abidinous at this day then ever before, more gi- rooted out, sa. th
 ven to procure love in others by conjuring, force- God, Sap. 3.
 ry, and other such meanes. And albeit for him-
 selfe, both age, and nature spent, doe somewhat
 tame him from the act, yet wanteth he not will,
 as appeareth by the Italian ointment, procured
 not many yeers past by his Chyrurgion or Moun-
 tabanke of that Countrey, whereby (as they say) *Leicesters oym-*
 he is able to move his flesh at all times, for kee- ment.
 king of his credit, howsoever his inability be o-
 therwise for performance: as also one of his Phy-
 sicians reported, to an Earle of this Land, that
 his Lordship had a bottle for his bed head, of *Leicesters bottle*
 ten pounds the Pint to the same effect. But my
 Matters whether are we fallen, unadvisedly? I
 am ashamed to have made mention of so base fil-
 thinesse.

Not without good cause (quoth I) but that we *Scholar.*
 are here alone, and no man heareth us. Wherefore
 I pray you let us returne whereas we left: and
 when you named my Lord of *Leicesters* Daughter
 borne of the Lady *Sheffield* in *Dudley* Castle, there
 came into my head a prety story concerning that
 affaire: which now I will recount (though some-
 what out of order) thereby to draw you from the
 further stirring of this unsavory puddle and
 foule dunghill, whereunto we are spped, by
 following my Lord somewhat too far in his paths
 and actions.

Wherefore to tell you the tale as it fell out: I
 grew acquainted three months past with a certain
 Minister, that now is dead, and was the same man
 that

A pretty device.

that was used in *Dudley* Castle, for complemen-
of some sacred ceremonies at the birth of my
Lord of *Leicesters* daughter in that place : and the
matter was so ordained, by the wily wit of him
that had sowed the seed, that for the better co-
vering of the harvest and secret delivery of the
Lady *Sheffield*, the good wife of the Castle al-
(whereby *Leicesters* appointed gossips might with-
out other suspicion have access to the place)
should faise her selfe to be with childe, and af-
ter long and fore travell, God wot, to be deli-
vered of a cushion (as she was indeed) and a little
after a faire coffin was buried with a bundell
of clouts, in shew of a childe ; and the Minister
caused to use all accustomed prayers and ce-
remonies for the solemne interring there-
of : for which thing afterward, before his
death, he had great grieve and remorse of con-
science, with no small detestation of the most
irreligious device of my Lord of *Leicester* in such
a case.

An act of atheism

Lawyer.

Here the Lawyer began to laugh a pace both
at the device and at the Minister ; and said, now
truly if my Lords contracts hold no better, but
hath so many infirmitie, with subtilties, and by
places besides : I would be loth that he were mar-
ried to my daughter, as mean as she is.

Gentleman.

But yet (quoth the Gentleman) I had rather
the two be his wife, for the time, then his guest,
especially if the Italian Chyrurgian or Physitian
be at hand.

Lawyer.

True it is (said the Lawyer) for he doth not
poison his wives, whereof I somewhat mervaile,
especially his first wife ; I muse why he chose ra-
ther to make her away by open violence, then by
some Italian consortive.

Gentlemen.

Hereof (said the Gentleman) may be divers
reasons

reasons alleaged. First, that he was not at that time so skilfull in those Italian wares, nor had about him so fit Physitians and Chyrurgions for his purpose: nor yet in truth doe I thinke that his minde was so settled then in mischief, as it hath beene since. For you know, that men are not desperate the first day, but doe enter into wickednesse by degrees, and with some doubt or staggering of conscience at the beginning. And so he at that time might be desirous to have his wife made away, for that she letted him in his designements, but yet not so stony harted as to appoint out the particular manner of her death, but rather to leave that to the discretion of the murderer.

The first reason why Leicester slew his wife by violence, rather then by poyson.

Secondly, it is not also unlike that he prescribed unto Sir *Richard Varney* at his going thither, that he should first attempt to kill her by poyson, and if that tooke not place, then by any other way to dispatch her howsoever. This I prove by the report of old Doctor *Bayly*, who then lived in Oxford (another manner of man then he who now liveth about my Lord of the same name) and was Professour of the Physicke Lecture in the same University. This learned grave man reported for most certaine, that there was a practice in Cumner among the conspiratours, to have poysoned the poore Lady a little before she was killed, which was attempted in this order.

The second reason.

Doctor Bayly the elder.

They seeing the good Lady sad and heavy (as one that wel knew by her other handling that her death was not far off) began to perswade her, that her disease was abundance of melancholly and other humors, and therefore would needs counsaile her to take some potion, which she absolutely refusing to do, as suspecting still the worst; they leant

one

A practice for
poisoning the
Lady Dudley.

day, (unwares to her) for Doctor Bayly, and desired him to perswade her to take some little potion at his hands, and they would send to fetch the same at Oxford upon his prescription, meaning to have added also somewhat of their own for her comfort, as the Doctor upon just cause suspected, seeing their great importunity, and the small need which the good Lady had of Physick, and therefore he flatly denied their request, not doubting (as he after reported) lest if they had poisoned her under the name of his Potion, they might after have beene hanged for a colour of their sinne. Marry the said Doctor remained well assured that this way taking no place, he should not long escape violence, as after ensued. And the thing was so beaten into the heads of the principall men of the University of Oxford by these and other meanes: as for that she was found murdered (as all men said) by the Crowners inquest, and for that she being hastily and obscurely buried at Cumner (which was condemned above, as not adviseably done) my good Lord to make plain to the world the great loue he bore to her in her life, and what a griefe the losse of so vertuous a Lady was to his tender heart, would needs have her taken up againe and reburied in the University Church at Oxford, with great pomp and solemnity: that Doctor Babington my Lords Chaplain, making the publike funerall Sermon at her second buriall, tript once or twice in his speech by recommending to their memories that vertuous Lady so pitifully murdered, instead of so pitifully slaine.

Doct. Babington

A third reason.

A third cause of this manner of the Ladies death, may be the disposition of my Lords nature; which is bold and violent where it feareth no resistance (as all cowardly natures are by kinde)

kinde) and where any difficulty or danger appeareth, there, more ready to attempt all by art, subtilty, treason and treachery. And so for that he doubted no great resistance in the poore Lady to withstand the hands of them which should offer to break her neck: he durst the bolder attempt the same openly.

But in the men whom he poisoned, for that they were such valiant Knights, the most part of them, as he durst as soon have eaten his scabard, as draw his sword in publik. against them: he was inforced (as all wretched irefull and dastardly creatures are) to supplant them by fraud, and by other mens hands. As also at other times, he hath sought to doe unto divers other noble and valiant personages, when he was afraid to meet them in the field, as a Knight should have done.

His treacheries towards the noble late Earl of *Suffex* in their many breaches, is notorious to all England. As also the bloody practises against divers others.

But as among many, none were more odious and misliked of all men, then those against Monsieur *Simiers*, a stranger and Embassadour; whom first he practised to have poisoned (as hath bin touched before) and when that device tooke not place, then he appointed that *Robin Tider* his man (as after upon his Ale-bench he confessed) should have slaine him at the Blackfriars at Greenwich as he went forth at the garden gate; but missing also that purpose, for that he found the Gentleman better provided and guarded then he expected, he dealt with certaine Flushwaters and other Pirates to sinke him at Sea, with the English Gentlemen his favourers, that accompanied him at his returne into France. And though they misliked of this practice also, (as not daring to set upon him

The intended murder of Monsieur *Simiers* by sundry means.

him for feare of some of her Majesties ships, who to breake off this designment attended by speciall commandement, to waite him over in safety) yet the foresaid English Gentlemen were holden foure houres in chace at their coming backe, at Master *Rawley* well knoweth, being then present, and two of the chasers, named *Clark* and *Harris*, confessed afterward the whole designment.

The intended
murder of the
Earle of Ormond

The Earle of *Ormond* in likewise hath often declared, and will avouch it to my Lord of *Leicester* face, whensoever he shall be called to the same, that at such time as this man had a quarell with him, and thereby was likely to be enforced to the field (which he trembled to thinke of) he first sought by all meanes to get him made away by secret murder, offering five hundred pounds for the doing thereof. And secondly, when that device tooke no place, he appointed with him the field, but secretly suborning his servant *William Killigre* to lye in the way where *Ormond* should passe, and so to massacre him with a caliver, before he came to the place appointed. Which murder, though it tooke no effect, for that the matter was taken up, before the day of meeting: yet was *Killigre* placed afterward in her Majesties privy Chamber by *Leicester*, for shewing his ready minde to doe for his Master so faithfull a service.

William Killigre

Scholar.

So faithfull a service (quoth I) truly, in my opinion, it was but an unfit preferment, for so facinorous a fact. And as I would be loth that many of his Italians, or other of that art, should come nigh about her Majesties kitchen; so much lesse would I, that many such his bloody Champions, should be placed by him in her Highnesse chamber. Albeit for this Gentleman in particular, it may be, that with change of his place

place in service, he hath changed also his minde and affection, and received better instruction in the feare of the Lord.

But yet in general, I must needs say, that it cannot be but prejudiciall and exceeding dangerous unto our noble Prince and Realme, that any one man whatsoever (especially such a one as the world taketh this man to be) should grow to so absolute authority and commandry in the Court, as to place about the Princes person (the head, the heart, the life of the land) whatsoever people liketh him best, and that now upon their deserts towards the Prince, but towards himselfe; whose fidelity being more obliged to their advancer, then to their soveraigne, doe serve for watchmen about the same, for the profit of him, by whose appointment they were placed. Who by their meanes casting indeed but nets and chaines, and invisible bands about that person, whom most of all he pretendeth to serve, he shutteth up his Prince in a prison most sure, though sweet and senselesse.

Preoccupation
of her Maiesties
person.

Neither is this art of aspiring new or strange unto any man that is experienced in affaires of former time; for that it hath been from the beginning of all government a troden path of all aspirers. In the stories both sacred and prophane, foraine and domesticall of all Nations, Kingdomes, Countries and States, you shall read, that such as ment to mount above others, and to governe all at their owne discretion; did lay this for the first ground and principle of their purpose; to possesse themselves of all such as were in place about the principall; even as he who intending to hold a great City at his owne disposition, dareth not mak open war against the same; getteth secretly into his hands or at his devotion, all the Towns,

An ordinary way
of aspiring by
preoccupation of
the Princes person.

A comparison.

Villages, Castles, Fortifications, bulwarks, Rampires, Waters, Wayes, Ports and Passages, about the same, and so without drawing any sword against the said City, he bringeth the same into bondage to abide his will and pleasure.

This did all these in the Roman Empire, who rose from subjects to be great Princes, and to pull downe Emperours. This did all those in France and other Kingdomes, who at fundry times have tyrannized their Princes. And in our owne Countrey the examples are manifest of *Vortiger*, *Harold*, *Henry* of Lancaster, *Richard* of Warwick, *Richard* of Gloucester, *Iohn* of Northumberland, and divers others, who by this means specially, have pulled downe their lawfull Sovereignes.

And to speake onely a word or two of the last, for that he was this mans Father; doth not all England know, that he first overthrew the good Duke of *Somerſet*, by drawing to his devotion the very servants and friends of the said Duke? And afterward did not he possesse himselfe of the Kings owne person, and brought him to the end which is knowne, and before that, to the most shamefull ditheriting of his owne royall Sisters: and all this, by possessing first the principall men, that were in authority about him?

Wherefore sir, if my Lord of *Leicester* have the same plot in his head (as most men thinke) and that he meaneth one day to give the same puffe at the Crowne by the House of *Huntington*, against all the race and line of King *Henry* the seventh in generall, which his Father gave before him, by pretence of the House of *Suffolke*, against the Children of King *Henry* the eight in particular; he wanteth not reason to follow the same means

The way of aspiring in Duke Dudley.

meanes and platform of planting special persons
for his purpose about the Prince, for surely his fa-
thers plot lacked no witty device or preparation,
but onely that God overthrew it at the instant:
(as happely he may doe this mans) also not with-
standing any diligence that humane wisdom
can use to the contrary.

To this said the Gentleman: that my Lord of *Gentlemen*.
Leycester hath a purpose to shoot one day at the
Diadem by the title of Huntington, is not a thing
obscure in it selfe, and it shall bee more plainly
proved hereafter. But now will I shew unto you
for your instruction, how well this man hath fol-
lowed his fathers platforme (or rather passed the
same) in possessing himselfe of all her Majesties
servants, friends, and forces, to serve his turne at
that time for execution, and in the meane space
for preparation.

First, in the privy Chamber, next unto her Ma- *Leycesters po-*
jesties person, the most part are his own creatures *wer in the privy*
(as he calleth them) that is, such as acknowledge *Chamber.*
their being in that place, from him: and the rest
he so over-ruleth, either by flattery or feare, as
none may dare but to serve his turne. As his reign
is so absolute in this place, (as also in all other
parts of the Court) as nothing can passe but by
his admission, nothing can be said, done, or signi-
fied, whereof hee is not particularly advertised:
no bill, no supplication, no complain, no sute,
no speech, can passe from any man to the Prin-
cesse (except it be from one of the Councell) but
by his good liking: or if there doe, he being ad-
monished thereof (as presently he shall,) the party
delinquent is sure after to abide the smart there-
of. Whereby he holdeth as it were a locke upon
the eares of his Prince, and the tongues of all her
Majesties servants, so surely chained to his girdle,

as no man dareth to speak any one thing that may offend him, though it be never so true or behovefull for her Majesty to know.

Leycester married at Waenstead: when her Majesty was at M Stoners Heuf
 Doctor Culpeper
 Physitian Minister.

As well appeared in the late marriage with Dame *Essex*, which albeit it was celebrated twofirst at Killingworth, and secondly at Waenstead (in the presence of the Earle of Warwick, Lord *North*, Sir *Francis Knowles*, and others) and this exactly known to the whole Court, with the very day, the place, the witnesses, and the Minister that married them together: yet no man durst open his mouth to make her Majesty privy therunto, untill Monsieur *Simiers* disclosed the same, (and thereby incurred his high displeasure) nor yet in many dayes after for feare of *Leycester*. Which is a subjection most dishonorable and dangerous to any Prince living, to stand at the devotion of his subject, what to heare or not to heare of things that passe within his own Realme.

No sute can passe but by *Leycester*.

Read *Polidore* in the 7. yeare of King *Richard 1.* and you shall find this proceeding of certaine about that K. to be put as a great cause of his overthrow.

And herof it followeth that no sute can prevaile in Court, be it never so meane, except he first be made acquainted there with, and receive not only the thanks, but also be admitted unto a great part of the game and commodity thereof Which, as it is a great injury to the suter: so is it a far more greater to the bounty, honour and security of the Prince, by whose liberality this man feedeth only, and fortifieth himselfe, depriving his soveraigne of all grace, thanks and good will for the same. For which cause also he giveth out ordinarily, to every suter, that her Majesty is nigh and perfidious of her selfe, and very difficult to grant any sute, were it not only upon his incessant solicitation. Whereby he filleth his own purse the more, and emptieth the hearts of such as receive benefit, from due thanks to their Princes for the sute obtained.

Hereof

Hereof also ensueth, that no man may be preferred in Court (be he otherwise never so well a deserving servant to her Majesty) except he be one of *Leycesters* faction or followers: none can be advanced, except he be liked and preferred by him: none receive grace, except he stand in his good favour, no one may live in countenance, or quiet of life, except he take it, use it, acknowledge it from him, so as all the favours, graces, dignities, riches and rewards, which her Majesty bestoweth, or the Realme can yeeld, must serve to purchase this man private friends, and favourers, onely to advance his party, and to foruse his faction. Which faction if by these meanes it be great, (so as indeed it is:) you may not marvile, seeing the riches and wealth, of so worthy a Common weale, doe serve him but for a price to buy the same.

No preferments
but by *Leycester*
to *Leycesterians*.

Which thing himselfe well knowing, frameth his spirit of proceeding accordingly. And first, upon confidence thereof, is become so insolent and impotent of his life that no man may beare the same, how justly or unjustly soever it bee conceived: for albeit he begin to hate a man upon bare surmises onely (as commonly it falleth out, ambition being alwayes the mother of suspicion) yet he persecuteth the same with such implacable cruelty, as there is no long abiding for the party in that place. As might bee shewed by the examples of many whom hee hath chased from the Court, upon his only displeasure, without other cause, being knowne to be otherwise, zealous Protestant. As *Sir Jerome Bowes*, *Mr. George Scot*, and others that we could name.

Leycesters anger
and insolency.

To this insolency is also joyned (as by nature it followeth) most absolute and peremptory dealing in all things whereof it pleaseth him to dis-

Leycesters pe-
remptory deal-
ing.

pose, without respect either of reason, order, due, right, subordination, custome, conveniency, or the like: whereof notwithstanding Princes themselves are wont to have regard in disposition of their matters: as for example, among the servants of the Queenes Majesties household, it is an ancient and most commendable order and custome, that when a place of higher roome falleth voyd, he that by succession is next, and hath made proof of his worthinesse in an inferiour place, should rise and possesse the same, (except it be for some extraordinary cause) to the end that no man unexperienced or untry'd, should be placed in the higher roomes the first day, to the prejudice of others, and disservice of the Prince.

Breaking of order in her Majesties household.

Which most reasonable custome this man contemning and breaking at his pleasure, thrusteth into higher roomes any person whatsoever, so he like his inclination, or feele his reward: albeit he neither be fit for the purpose, nor have bene so much as Clarke in any inferiour office before.

Leycesters violating of all order in the Country abroad.

The like hee useth out of the Court, in all other places where matters should passe by order, election, or degree: as in the Universties, in election of Scholars, and Heads of houses, in Ecclesiasticall persons, for dignities in Church, in Officers, Magistrates, Stewards of lands, Sheriffes and Knights of Shires, in Burgeses of the Parliament, in Commissioners, Judges, Justices of the peace, (whereof many in every thre must weare his livery) and all other the like: where this mans will must stand for reason, and his letters for absolute lawes, neither is there any man, magistrate, or communer in the Realme, who darceth not sooner deny their petition of her Majesties letters, upon just causes (for that her highnesse is content after to be satisfied with reason) then to resist the commandement

mandement of this mans letters, who will admit no excuse or satisfaction, but onely the execution of his said commandement, be it right or wrong

To this answered the Lawyer, Now verily, sir, *Lawyer.*
 you print unto me a strange patierne of a perfect Potentate in the Court: belike that stranger, who calleth our State in his printed booke *Leycestria sem Republicam*, a Leycestrian Commonwealth, or the Commonwealth of my Lord of Leycester, knoweth much of these matters. But to hold, sir, still within the Court: I assure you that by considerations, which you have laid downe, I doe begin now to perceive that his party must needs be very great and strong within the said Court, seeing that hee hath so many wayes and meanes to encrease, enrich, and encourage the same, and so strong abilities to tread downe his enemies. The common speech of many wanteth not reason, I perceive, which calleth him the heart and life of the Court.

A Leycestrian Commonwealth

They which call him the heart (said the Gentleman) upon a little occasion more, would call him also the head: and then I marvell what should bee left for her Majesty, when they take from her both life, heart, and headship in her own Realme? But the truth is, that he hath the Court at this day in almost the same case as his father had it in King Edwards days, by the same device, (the Lord forbid that ever it come fully to the same state, for then we know what ensued to the principall:) and if you will have an evident demonstration of this mans power and favour in that place, call you but to minde the times when her Majesty upon most just and urgent occasions, did withdraw but a little her wonted favour and countenance towards him: did not all

Gentleman.
 Leycester called the heart and life of the Court.

A demonstration
of Leycesters
tyranny in the
Court.

the Court as it were, mutiny presently^d did not e-
very man hang the lippe? except a few, who af-
terward paid sweetly for their mirth; were there
not every day new devices sought out, that some
should be on their knees to her Majesty, some
should weepe and put finger in their eyes: other
should find out certaine covert manner of threat-
ning: other reasons and perswasions of love: o-
ther of profit: other of honour: other of
necessity: and all to get him recalled back to fa-
vour againe? And had her Majesty any rest per-
mitted unto her, untill she had yeilded and gran-
ted to the same?

Leycester provi-
deth never to
come in the
Queenes danger
againc.

Consider then (I pray you) that if at that time,
in his disgrace, he had his faction so fast assured
to himself: what had he now in his prosperity,
after so many yeares of fortification? wherein by all
reason he hath not been negligent, seeing that in
policy the first point of good fortification is, to
make that fort impregnable, which once hath been
in danger to be lost. Wherof you have an example
in *Rubard* Duke of York, in the time of *K. Henry*
the sixt who being once in the Kings hands by his
own submission, and dismissed againe (when for
his deserts, he should have suffered) provided af-
ter, the King should never be able to over-reach
him the second time, or have him in his power to
do him hurt, but made himselfe strong enough to
pull downe the other with extirpation of his
family.

Anno Regni 31.

Leycesters puis-
sance in the privy
Councell.

And this of the Court, household and Chamber
of her Majesty. But now if we shall passe from
Court to Councell, we shall find him no lesse for-
tified but rather more: for albeit the providence
of God hath bin such, that in this most honoura-
ble assemble, there hath not wanted some two or
three of the wisest, gravest, and most experienced
in

in our state, that have seen and marked this mans
 perillous proceedings from the beginning, (whereof
 notwithstanding two are now deceased, and their
 places supplied to *Leycesters* good liking:) yet L. Keeper.
L. Chamberlain.
 (alas) the wisdom of these worthy men, hath dis-
 covered alwayes more, then their authorities were
 able to redresse: (the others great power and vio-
 lence considered) and for the residue of thit bench
 and table, though I doubt not but there be divers,
 who do in heart detest his doings (as there were
 also, no doubt among the Councillours of King
Edward, who mislike this mans fathers attempts,
 though not so hardy as to contrary the same:) yet
 for most part of the Councell present, they are
 known to be so affected in particular, the one for
 that he is to him a Brother, the other a Father, the
 other a Kinsman, the other an allie, the other a fast
 obliged friend, the other a fellow or follower in
 faction, as none will stand in the breach against
 him: none dare resist or encounter his desig-
 nement: but every man yielding rather to the force
 of his flow, permitteth him to pierce, and passe at
 his pleasure in whatsoever his will is once setled
 to obtaine.

And hereof (were I not staid for respect of some
 whom I may not name) I could alledge strang ex-
 amples, not so much in affaires belonging to sub-
 jects and to privat men, as (were the cause of *Snow-*
den Forrest, *Denbigh* of *Kingworth*, of his faire *Pas-*
tures foully procured by *Sowbham*, of the *Archbish.*
of Canterbury, of the *L. Barkley*, of *Sir Iohn Throg-*
marton, of *M. Robinson* and the like;) wherein thote
 of the Councell that disliked his doings, least da-
 red to oppose themselves to the same, but also in
 things that appertaine directly to the Crown and
 dignity, to the State and Common weal, and to the
 safety and continuance therof. It is not secure for
Matters wherein
the Councell are
inforced to walk
at *Leycester*.

any one Councillor, or other of authority, to take notice of my Lords errors or misdeeds, but with extreame perill of their owne ruine.

Leycesters intelligence with the rebellion in Ireland.

As for example: in the beginning of the rebellion in Ireland, when my Lord of Leycester was in some disgrace, and consequently, as hee imagined, but in fraile state at home, he thought it not unexpedient, for his better assurance, to hold some intelligence also that way, for all events, and so he did: whereof there was so good evidence and testimony found, upon one of the first of accompr, that was there slaine, (as honourable personages of their knowledge have assured me) as would have beene sufficient, to touch the life of any subject in the land, or in any state Christian, but onely my Lord of Leycester, who is a subject without subjection.

For what thinke you? durst any man take notice hereof, or avouch that he had seen thus much? durst he that tooke it in Ireland, deliver the same where especially hee should have done? or they who received it in England, for it came to great hands, use it to the benefit of their Princeesse and Countrey? No surely: for if it had beene but onely suspected that they had seene such a thing, it would have beene as dangerous unto them as it was to *Aleion* to have seene *Diana* and her maidens naked: whose case is so common now in England as nothing more, and so doe the examples of divers well declare: whose unfortunate knowledge of too many secrets brought them quick'ly to unfortunate ends.

Aleions case now come in England.

For we heare of one *Salvator* a stranger, long used in great mysteries of bale affaires and dishonest actions, who afterward (upon what demerit I know not) sustained a hard fortune, for being late with my Lord in his study, well neare untill

Salvator slaine in his bed.

midnight, (if I be rightly informed) went home to his chamber, and the next morning was found slaine in his bed. Wee heare also of one *Doughty*, Doughty hanged by Drake. hanged in haste by Captaine *Drake* upon the Sea, and that by order, as is thought, before his departure out of England, for that he was over privy to the secrets of this good Earle,

There was also this last Summer past, one *Gates* hanged at Tiborne, among others, for robbing of Carriers, which *Gates* had beene lately Clarke of my Lords kitching, and had layd out much money of his owne, as he said, for my Lords provision, being also otherwise in so great favour and grace with my Lord, as no man living was thought to bee more privy of his secrets then this man, whereupon also it is to be thought, that hee presumed the rather to commit this robbery, (for to such things doth my Lords good favour most extend,) and being apprehended, and in danger for the same, he made his recourse to his Honour for protection, as the fashion is, and that hee might hee borne out, as divers of lesse merit had beene by his Lordship, in more haynous causes before him.

The good Earle answered his servant and deare Privado courteously, and assured him for his life, howsoever for outer shew and complement the forme of Law might passe against him. But *Gates* seeing himselfe condemned, and nothing now betweene his head and the halter, but the word of the Magistrate which might come in an instant, when it would bee too late to send to his Lord: remembring also the small assurance of his said Lords word by his former dealings towards other men, whereof this man was too much privy, he thought good to sollicite his case also by some other of his friends, though not so

pissant

The story of
Gates hanged
at Tiborne.

puissant as his Lord and Master, who dealing indeed, both diligently and effectually in his affaires, found the matter more difficult a great deale then either he or they had imagined: for that my Lord of Leycester was not onely not his favourer, but a great hastener of his death under hand; and that with such care, diligence, vehemency, and irresistible meanes, (having the Law also on his side) that there was no hope at all of escaping: which thing when *Gates* heard of, he easily beleeved for the experience he had of his masters good nature, and said, that he alwayes mistrusted the same, considering how much his Lordship was in debt to him, and hee made privy to his Lordships foule secrets, which secrets hee would there presently have uttered in the face of all the world, but that he feared torments or speedy death, with some extraordinary cruelty, if hee should so have done, and therefore hee disclosed the same onely to a Gentleman of worship, whom hee trusted specially, whose name I may not utter for some causes, (but it beginneth with H.) and I am in hope ere it be long, by meanes of a friend of mine, to have a sight of that discourse and report of *Gates*, which hitherto I have not seene nor ever spake I with the Gentleman that keepeth it, though I be well assured that the whole matter passed in substance as I have here recounted it.

Scholar.

This relation of *Gates* may serve hereafter for an addition in the second edition of this booke.

Whereunto I answered, that in good faith it were pittie that this relation should be lost, for that it is very like, that many rare things bee declared therein, seeing it is done by a man so privie to the affaires themselves, wherein also hee had beene used an instrument. I will have it (quoth the Gentleman) or else my friends shall faile me, howbeit not so soone as I would, for that he is in the West Countrey that should procure

care

procure it for me, and will not returne for certaine months, but after I shall see him againe, I will not leave him untill he procure it for me, as he hath promised: well (quoth I) but what is become of that evidence found in Ireland under my Lords hand, which no man dare pursue, avouch, or behold.

Truly (said the Gentleman) I am informed that it lyeth safely reserved in good custody, to be brought forth and avouched whensoever it shall please God so to dispose of her Majesties heart, as he will lend an indifferent care, as well to his accusers, as to himselfe, in judgement.

Neither must you thinke that this is strange, for that the things are few which are in such sort reserved in decke for the time to come, even among great personages, and of high calling, nor seeing the present state of his power to be so much, and the tempest of his tyranny to be so strong and boysterous, as no man may stand in the rage thereof, without perill, for that even from her Majesty her selfe, in the lenity of her princely nature, hee extorteth what hee designeth, either by fraud, flattery, false information, Gainequest, pretence, or violent importunity, to the over-bearing of all, whom hee meaneth to oppresse: No marvaile then though many even of the best and faithfullest Subjects of the Land, doe yeeld to the present time, and doe keepe silence in some matters, that otherwise they would take it for dutie to utter.

And in this kind it is not long sithence a worthy shipfull and wise friend of mine told mee a testimony in secret, from the mouth of as noble and grave a Councellour as England hath enjoyed these many hundred yeares: I meane the late

Gentleman.

The deck reserved for Leycester.

Leycesters puissant violence with the Prince her selfe.

The Earle of
Suffex his speech
of the Earle of
Leycester.

late Lord Chamberlaine, with whom my friend being alone at his house in London, not twenty dayes before his death, conferred somewhat familiarly about these and like matters, with a true father of his Countrey and Commonwealth: and after many complaints in the behalfe of divers, who had opened their griefs unto Councellours, and saw that no notice would be taken thereof, the said Nobleman, turning himselfe somewhat about from the water, (for hee sat neare his pond side, where hee beheld the taking of a Pike or Carpe) said to my friend, It is marvell, sir, for who dareth intermeddle himselfe in my Lords affaires? I will tell you (quoth he) in confidence betweene you and me, there is no wise a man and as grave, and as faithfull a Councellour as England breedeth, (meaning therein the Lord Treasurer) who hath as much of the keeping of Leycesters owne hand writing, as is sufficient to hang him, if either he durst present the same to her Majesty, or her Majesty doe justice when it should be presented. But indeed (quoth he) the time permitteth neither of them both, and therefore it is in vaine for any man to struggle with him.

The Lord Burghley.

These were that Noblemans words, whereof you may consider whether my Lord of Leycesters be strong this day in Councell or no: and whether his fortification be sufficient in that place.

Leycesters power in the countrey abroad.

But now if out of the Councell, we will turne our eye in the Countrey abroad, we shall finde as good fortification also there, as we have perused already in Court and Councell: and shall well perceive that this mans plot is no fond or indiscreet plot, but excellent well grounded, and such as in all proportions hath his due correspondence.

Consider then the chiefe and principall parts of this land for martiall affaires, for use and commodity of armour, for strength, for opportunity, or liberty of the people, as dwelling farthest off from the presence and aspect of their Prince, such parts (I say) as are fittest for sudden enterprises, without danger of interception: as are the North, the West, the Countries of Wales, the Islands round about the land, and sundry other places within the same: are they not all at this day at his disposition? are they not all (by his procurement) in the onely hands of his friends and allyes? or of such, as by other matches have the same complot and purpose with him?

In Yorke is president the man that of all other is fittest for that place, that is, his nearest in affinity, his dearest in friendship, the head of his faction, and open competitor of the Scepter. In Barwicke is a Captaine, his wives uncle, most assured to himselfe and Huntingdon, as one who at convenient time may as much advance their designements, as any one man in England.

Yorke Earle of
Huntington.

Barwick.
The Lord Huntingdon.

In Wales the chiefe authority from the Prince is in his owne brother in law: but among the people, of naturall affection, is in the Earle of Pembroke, who both by marriage of his sisters daughter is made his ally, and by dependance is knowne to be wholly at his disposition.

Wales.
Sir Henry Sidney
The Earle of
Pembroke.

The West part of England is under Bedford, a man wholly devoted to his and the Puritans faction.

The West-
Earle of Bedford.

In Ireland was governour of late the principal instrument appointed for their purposes: both in respect of his heat and affection toward their designements, as also of some secret discontentment which he hath towards her Majesty and the state present,

The Lord Grey.

4 Her Maieſty
(as he ſaith) for
ſtriking of Ma-
ſter Fortefene,
calling him lame
wretch: that
grievèd him ſo,
(for that he was
hurt in her ſer-
vice at Lieth) as
he ſaid, he would
live to be reven-
ged.

preſent for certaine hard & ſpeeches and ingrate
recompences, as he pretendeth: but indeed ſee
that he is knowne to bee of nature fyrie, and im-
patient of ſtay, from ſeeing that Commonwealth
on foot, which the next competitours for their
gaine have painted out to him and ſuch others,
more pleaſant then the Terreſtriall Paradiſe
ſelfe.

This then is the *Hector*, this is the *Ajax* appoin-
ted for the enterpriſe, when the time ſhall come.
This muſt be (forſooth) another *Richard* of War-
wicke, to gaine the Crowne for *Henry* the ninth
of the Houſe of Yorke: as the other *Richard* did
put downe *Henry* the ſixt of the Houſe of Lanca-
ſter, and placed *Edward* the fourth, from whom
Huntington deriveth his title therefore this man
is neceſſarily to be entertained from time to time
(as we ſee now he is) in ſome charge and mar-
tiall action, to the end his experience, power, and
credit may grow the more, and he be able at the
time to have ſouldiers at his commandment. And
for the former charge which held of late in Ire-
land, as this man had not beene called away, but
for execution of ſome other ſecret purpoſe, * for
advancement of their deſignements: ſo bee well
aſſured that for the time to come, it is to bee fur-
niſhed againe with a ſure and faſt friend to Ley-
ceſter and to that faction.

* In Scotland, or
elſewhere, againſt
the next inheri-
tors, or preſent
poſſeſſor.

Sir Iohn Parott.

Sir Edward
Horſey.

Sir George Ca-
rew.

Sir Amias Paulet
Sir Thomas
Layton.

In the Ile of Wight I grant that Leyceſter hath
loſt a great friend and a truſty ſervant by the
death of Captaine *Horſey*, but yet the matter is
ſupplied by the ſucceſſion of another, no leſſe af-
ſured unto him then the former, or rather more,
through the band of affinity by his wife. The two
Iſlands of Gerſey and Gernſey are in the poſſeſ-
ſion of two friends and moſt obliged dependents.
The one, by reaſon he is exceedingly addicted to

the Puritan proceedings: the other, as now being joyned unto him by the marriage of *missis Bessie*, his wives sister, both daughters to *Sir Francis*, or (at least) to my *Lady Knoles*, and so become a rivall, companion and brother, who was before (though trusty) yet but his servant.

And these are the chiefe *Keyes*, *Fortresses*, and *Bulwarkes*, within, without and about the Realm, which my Lord of *Leycester* possessing, (as hee doth) hee may be assured of the body within: where notwithstanding (as hath beene shewed) he wanteth no due preparation for strength: having at his disposition (besides all aydes and other helps specified before) her Majesties horse, and stables, by interest of his owne office: her *Armour*, *Artillery*, and *Munition*, by the office of his brother the *Earle of Warwicke*. The *Tower of London* and treasure therein, by the dependence of *Sir Owyn Hopton* his sworne servant, as ready to rescue and furnish him with the whole, if occasion served, as one of his predecessours was, to receive his Father in *King Edwards* dayes, for the like effect, against her Majesty and her Sister.

And in the *City of London* it selfe, what this man at a pinch could doe, by the helpe of some of the principall men, and chiefe *Leaders*, and (as it were) *Commanders* of the *Commons* there, and by the bestirring of *Fleetwood* his made *Recorder*, and other such his instruments: as also in all other *Townes*, *Ports*, and *Cities* of importance, by such of his owne setting up, as hee hath placed there to serve his designements, and *Justices of peace*, with other, that in most *Shires* doe weare his livery, and are at his appointment: the simplest man within the *Realme* doth consider.

Her Majesties
stable, her ar-
mour, munition,
and artillery
The Tower.

London.
Sir Rowland
Heyward, &c.
Mad Fleetwood,
Gentleman.

Where.

Whereunto if you adde now his owne forces and furniture which hee hath in Killingworth Castle, and other places, as also the forces of Huntington in particular, with their friends, followers, allies and compartenors, you shall finde that they are not behinde in their preparations.

Scholar.

My Lord of Huntingtons preparation at Ashby.

For my Lord of Huntingtons forwardnesse in the cause (said I) there is no man, I thinke, which maketh doubt: marry for his private forces, albe it they may be very good, for any thing I doe know to the contrary, (especially at his house within five and twenty miles of Killingworth, where one told mee some yeares past, that he had furniture ready for five thousand men:) yet do I not think but they are farre inferiour to my Lord of Leycester, who is taken to have excessive store, and that in divers places. And as for the Castle last mentioned by you, there are men of good intelligence, and of no small judgement, who report that in the same he hath to furnish ten thousand good soldiers, of all things necessary both for horse and man, besides all other munition, armour, and artillery, (whereof great store was brought thither under pretence of triumph, when her Majesty was there, and never as yet carried backe againe) and besides the great abundance of ready coyne there (as is said) sufficient for any great exploit to be done within the Realme.

Killingworth Castle.

Ralph Lane.

And I know that the estimation of this place was such, among divers, many yeares agoe: as when at a time her Majesty lay dangerously sick, and like to dye, at Hampton Court, a certaine Gentleman of the Court came unto my Lord of Huntington, and told him, that for so much as he tooke his Lord to be next in succession after her Majesty, hee would offer him a meane of great helpe for compassing of his purpose, after the disceale

disceale

decease of her Majesty which was, the possession of Killingworth Castle (for at that time these two Earles were not yet very friends, nor confederate together) and that being had, he shewed to the Earle the great furniture and wealth which thereby he should possesse for pursuit of his purpose.

The offer and
acceptation of
Killingworth
Castle.

The proposition was well liked, and the matter seemed of great importance, and consequently received with many thanks. But yet afterward her Majesty by the good providence of God, recovering againe, letted the execution of the bargain: and my Lord of Huntington having occasion to joyne amity with Leyeester, had more respect to his owne commodity, then to his friends security, (as commonly in such persons, and cases it falleth out) and so discovered the whole device unto him, who forgat not after, from time to time, to plague the deviser by secret means, untill he had brought him to that poore estate, as all the world seeth: though many men be not acquainted with the true cause of this his disgrace and bad fortune.

To this answered the Lawyer: In good faith (Gentlemen) you open great mysteries unto me, which either I knew not, or considered not so particularly before; and no marvell, for that my profession and exercise of Law, restraineth me from much company keeping: and when I happen to be among some that could tell mee much herein, I dare not either aske, or heare if any of himselfe beginne to talke, lest afterward the speech coming to sight, I be fetched over the coales (as the proverb is) for the same, under pretence of another thing. But you (who are not suspected for religion) have much greater priviledge in such matters, both to heare and speake againe, which men of mine estate dare not doe: Onely this I

Lawyer.

The prerogative
of my Lord of
Leycester.

knew before, that throughout all England my Lord of Leycester is taken for *Dominus factotum*: whose excellency above others is infinite, whose authority is absolute, whose commandment is dreadful, whose dislike is dangerous, and whose favour is omnipotent.

And for his will, though it be seldome Law, yet alwayes is his power above law: and therefore wee Lawyers in all cases brought unto us, have as great regard to his inclination, as Astronomers have to the Planet dominant, or as Seamen have to the North Pole.

Leycester the
Star directory to
Lawyers in their
clients affaires.

For as they that saile, doe direct their course according to the situation and direction of that starre which guideth them at the Pole: and as Astronomers who make Prognostications, doe foretell things to come, according to the aspect of the Planet dominant, or bearing rule for the time: so we doe guide our Clients barke, and do prognosticate what is like to ensue of his cause, by the aspect and inclination of my Lord of Leycester. And for that reason, as soone as ever wee heare a case proposed, our custome is to ask, what part my Lord of Leycester is like to favour in the matter, (for in all matters I ghtly of any importance he hath a part) or what may be gathered of his inclination therein: and according to that we give a guesse, more or lesse, what end will ensue. But this (my Masters) is from the purpose: and therefore returning to your former speech againe, I do say, that albeit I was not privy before to the particular provisions of my Lord and his friends, in such and such places: yet seeing him accompted Lord Generall over all the whole Realme, and to have at his commandment all these severall commodities and forces pertaining to her Majesty which you have mentioned be-

fore,

fore, and so many more as be in the Realme, and not mentioned by you (for in fine he hath al :) I could not but account him (as hee is) a potent Prince of our State, for all furniture needfull to defence or offence, or rather the onely Monarch of our Nobility, who hath sufficient needfull to plunge his Prince, if he should bee discontented, especially for his abundance of money, (which, by the wise, is tearmed the Sinewes of Martiall actions) wherein by all mens judgements, hee is better furnished at this day, then ever any subject of our land, either hath beene heretofore, or lightly may be hereafter, both for bankes without the Realme, and stuffed coffers within. Inso-much that being my selfe in the last Parliament, when the matter was moved for the grant of a Subsidie, after that, one for her Majesty had given very good reasons, why her Highnesse was in want of money, and consequently needed the assistance of her faithfull subjects therein, another that came next me, of good account, said in mine eare secretly, these reasons I doe well allow, and am contented to give my part in money: but yet for her Majesties need, I could make answer as one answered once the Emperour *Tiberius* in the like case and cause, *Abundè ei pecuniam fore, si à liberto suo in societatem recipietur*; that her Majesty should have Money enough, if one of her servants would vouchsafe to make her Highnesse partaker with him; meaning thereby my Lord of Leycester, whose treasure must needs in one respect be greater then that of her Majesty; for that he layeth up whatsoever he getteth, and his expences he casteth upon the purse of his Princesse.

For that (said the Gentleman) whether he doe or no, it importeth little to the matter: seeing both that which hee spendeth, and that hee hord-

Leycesters furniture in money.

The saying of a Knight of the Shire touching Leycesters money

Gentleman

eth, is truly and properly his Princes Treasure: and seeing hee hath so many and diuers wayes of gaining, what should hee make account of his own private expences? if hee lay out one for a thousand, what can that make him the poorer? hee that hath so goodly lands, possessions, Seignories, and rich offices of his owne, as he is knowne to have: hee that hath so speciall favour and authority with the Prince, as he can obtaine whatsoever he listeth to demand: he that hath his part and portion in all sutes besides, that passe by grace, or else (for the most part) are ended by Law: he that may chop and change what lands hee listeth with her Majesty, dispoile them of al their woods and other commodities, and rack them afterward to the uttermost peany, and then retorne the same so tenter-stretched, and bare-shorne, into her Majesties hands againe, by fresh exchange, rent for rent, for other lands never enhanced before: hee that possesseth so many gainfull Licences to himselfe alone, of Wine, Oyles, Currants, Cloath, Velvets, with his new office for Licence of alienation, most pernicious unto the Commonwealth as hee useth the same, with many other the like, which were sufficient to enrich whole Townes, Corporations, Countries and Commonwealths: he that hath the art, to make gainfull to himselfe every offence, displeasure, and falling out of her Majesty with him, and every angry countenance cast upon him: he that hath his share in all offices of great profit, and holdeth an absolute Monopoly of the same: he that disposeth at his will the Ecclesiasticall livings of the Realme, maketh Bishops, not, but such as will doe reason, & of his Chaplains whom he listeth, and retaineth to himselfe so much of the living as liketh him best: hee that sweepeth away the glebe from so many Benefices

The infinit waies
of gaining that
Leycester hath.

Sutes.

Lands.

Licences.

Falling out with
her Majesty.
Offices.

Clergy.

nefices throughout the Land, and compoundeth **Benefices,**
 with the person for the rest. He that so scoureth **University.**
 the University and Colledges where he is Chan-
 cellour, and selleth both Headships and Scholars
 places, and all other offices, roomes and digni-
 ties, that by art or violence may yeeld money: he
 that maketh title to what land or other thing he
 please, and driveth the parties to compound for **Oppressions.**
 the same same: he that taketh in whole Forests,
 Commons, Woods, and Pastures to himselfe,
 compelling the Tenants to make him pay new
 rent, and what he cefleth: he that vexeth and op-
 presseth whomsoever hee list, taketh from any **Rapines,**
 what hee list, and maketh his owne claime, suit,
 and end as he list: he that selleth his favour with **Princes favour,**
 the Prince, both abroad in forraine countries, and
 at home, and settech the price thereof what him-
 selfe will demand: he that hath and doth all this,
 and besides this, hath infinite presents daily **Presents,**
 brought unto him of great value, both in Jewels,
 Plate, all kinde of Furniture, and ready Coine:
 this man (I say) may easily beare his owne ex-
 pences, and yet lay up sufficiently also to weare
 his Prince when need shall require.

You have laid much, sir, (quoth the Lawyer) **Lawyer.**
 and such matter as toucheth nearly both her Ma-
 jesty and the Commonwealth: and yet in my
 conscience if I were to plead at the barre for my
 Lord, I could not tell which of all these members
 to deny. But for that which you mention in the
 last part, of his gaining by her Majesties favour,
 both at home and abroad: Touching his home- **Leyce^{ners} home**
 gaine, it is evident, seeing all that he hath is got- **gaine by her Ma-**
 ten onely by the opinion of her Majesties favour **jesties favour.**
 towards him, and many men doe repaire unto
 him with fat presents, rather for that they suppose
 he may by his favour do them hurt, if he feele not
 E 3 their

their reward, then for that they hope he will labour any thing in their affaires.

A pretty story.

You remember (I doubt not) the story of him that offered his Prince a great yearly rent, to have but this favour onely, that hee might come every day in open audience, and say in his ease, God save your Majesty, assuring himselfe, that by the opinion of confidence and secret favour, which hereby the people would conceive to be in the Prince towards him, he should easily get up his rent againe double told. Wherefore my Lord of Leycester receiving daily from her Majesty greater tokens of grace and favour then this, and himselfe being no evill Merchant, to make his owne bargaine for the best of his commodities, cannot but gaine exceedingly at home by his favour.

Leycesters foraine gaine by her Majesties favour.

And for his lucre abroad upon the same cause, I leave to other men to conceive what it may be, sithence the beginning of her Majesties reigne, the times whereof and condition of all Christendome hath bene such, as all the Princes and Potentates round about us, have bene constrained at one time or other, to sue to her Highnesse for aid, grace, or favour: in all which suites, men use not to forget (as you know) the parties most able by their credit, to further or let the same.

In particular onely this I can say, that I have heard of sundry Frenchmen, that at such time as the treaty was betweene France and England, for the re-delivery of Callis unto us againe, in the first yeare of her Majesties reigne that now is, when the Frenchmen were in great distresse and misery, and King *Philip* refused absolutely to make peace with them, except Callis were restored to England (whither for that purpose he had now delivered the French hostages:) the Frenchmen

doe report (I say) that my Lord of Leycester
 stood them in great stead at that necessity, for his
 reward, (which you may well imagine was not
 small, for a thing of such importance) and became
 a suiter, that peace might be concluded, with the
 release of Callis to the French: which was
 one of the most impious facts (to say the truth,)
 that ever could be devised against his Common-
 wealth.

Leycesters bribe
 for betraying
 of Callis.

A small matter in him (said the Gentleman)
 for in this he did no more, but as Christ said of
 the Jews that they filled up the measure of their
 Fathers sinnes. And so if you reade the story of
 King Edward's time, you shall finde it most evi-
 dent, that this mans father before him, sold Bul-
 logne to the French by like treachery. For it
 was delivered up upon composition, without ne-
 cessity or reason, the five and twentieth of April,
 in the fourth year of King Edward the sixth, when
 he (I mean Duke Dudley) had now put in the
 Tower the Lord Protector, and thrust out of the
 Councell whom he liked, as namely, the Earles
 of Arundel and Southampton, and so invaded the
 whole government himselfe, to sell, spoile, or dis-
 pose at his pleasure. Wherefore this is but natu-
 rall to my Lord of Leycester by descent, to
 make merchandise of the State, for his Grand-
 father Edmund also was such a kinde of Cope-
 man.

Gentleman.

Leycesters fa-
 ther sold Bul-
 logne.

Earles of Arun-
 del and South-
 hampton put out
 of the Councell
 by D. Dudley.

An evill race of Merchants for the Common-
 wealth (quoth the Lawyer) but yet, Sir, I pray
 you (said he) expound unto me somewhat more
 at large, the nature of these licences which you na-
 med, as also the changing of lands with her Maje-
 sty, if you can set it downe any plainer: for they
 seeme to be things of excessive gaine: especially
 his way of gaining by offending her Majesty, or

Lawyer.

by her Highnesse offence towards him, for it seemeth to be a device above all skill or reason.

Leycesters gaue
by falling out
with her Maiesty

Not so (quoth the Gentleman) for you know that every falling out must have an attonement againe, whereof hee being sure by the many and puissant meanes of his friends in Court, as I have shewed before, who shall not give her Majesty rest untill it be done: then for this attonement, and in perfect reconciliation on her Majesties part she must grant my Lord some sute or other, which he will have alwayes ready provided for that purpose, and this sute shall bee well able to reward his friends, that laboured for his reconcilment, and leave also a good remainder for himselfe. And this is now so ordinary a practice with him, as all the Realme obserueth the same, and disdaineth that her Majesty should bee so unworthily abused. For if her Highnesse fall not out with him as often as he desireth to gaue this way, then he picketh some quarrell or other, to shew himselfe discontented with her, so that one way or other, this gainfull reconciliation must be made, and that often for his commoditie. The like art he exerciseth in inviting her Majesty to his banquets, and to his houses, where if shee come, shee must grant him in sutes, tenne times so much as the charges of all amount unto: so that Robin playeth the Broker in all his affaires, and maketh the uttermost penny of her Majesty every way.

Gentleman.

Now for his change of lands, I thinke I have bene reasonable plaine before: yet for your fuller satisfaction, you shall understand his further dealing therein, to be in this sort. Besides the good lands, and of ancient possession to the Crowne, procured at her Majesties hand, and used as before was declared: hee useth the same tricke for his worst lands, that he possesseth

esseth

seeth any way, whether they come to him, by extort meanes and plaine oppression, or through maintenance and broken titles, or by coufenage of simple Gentlemen, to make him their heire, or by what hard title or dishonest meanes so ever, (for hee practizeth store of such and thinketh little of the reckoning :) after he had tried them likewise to the uttermost touch, and letten them out to such as shall gaine but little by the bargaine: then goeth he and changeth the same with her Majesty for the best lands he can pick out of the Crowne, to the end that hereby he may both enforce her Majesty to the defence of his bad titles, and himselfe fill his coffers with the fines and uttermost commodity of both the lands.

Leycesters fraudulent change of lands with her Majesty whereby he hath notably endamaged the Crowne.

His licences do stand thus: first he got licence for certaine great numbers of cloaths, to be transported out of this land, which might have bene an undoing to the Marchant subject, if they had not redeemed the same with great summes of mōny: so that it redounded to great damage of all occupied about that kind of commodity. After that he had the grant for carrying over of barrell staves and of some other such like wares. Then procured hee a Monopolie, for bringing in of sweet wines, oyles, currants and the like: the game wherof is inestimable. He had also the forfeit of all wine that was to be drawn above the old ordinary price, with licence to give authority to sell above that price: wherin Captaine *Horsey* was his instrument, by which meanes it is incredible what treasure and yearely rent was gathered of the Vintners throughout the land.

Leycesters licences.

To this adde now his licence of silkes and velvets, which only were enough to enrich the Major and Aldermen of London, if they were all decayed

Silkes and Velvets.

The Tyrannical
Licence of aliena-
tion.

(as often I have heard divers Marchants affirme)
And his licence of alienation of lands, which (as
in part I have opened before) serveth him not
onely to excessive gaine, but also for an ex-
treame scourge, wherewith to plague whom he
pleaseth in the Realm. For seeing that without
this licence, no man can buy, sell, passe, or alie-
nate, any land that any waies may be drawne to
that tenure, as holden in chiefe of the Prince:
(as commonly now most land may) he calleth
into question what soever liketh him best, be it ne-
ver so cleare: and under this colour, not onely en-
richeth himselfe without all measure, but reven-
geth himselfe also, where he will, without all
order.

Gentleman.

Here the Lawyer stood still a pretty while, bi-
ting his lip, as he were astonished, and then said
Verily I have not heard so many and so apparant
things, or so odious, of any man that ever lived
in our Common wealth. And I marvaile much
of my Lord of *Leycester*, that his Grandfathers
fortune doth not move him much, who lost his
head in the beginning of King *Henry* the eighth
dayes, for much lesse and fewer offences, in the
same kind, committed in the time of King *Henry*
the seventh: for he was thought to be the inven-
tour of these poolings and molestations, where-
with the people were burthened, in the latter dayes
of the said King. And yet had he great pretence
of reason to alledged for himselfe: in that these
exactions were made to the Kings use, and not to
his, (albeit no doubt) but his own gaine was al-
so there. Master *Stow* writeth in his Cronicle,
that in the time of his imprisonment in the Tower,
he wrot a notable booke, intituled *The tree of*
Common wealth, which booke the said *Stow* saith,
that hee hath delivered to my Lord of *Leycester*

Edmund Dudley.

Edmund Dudleys
booke written in
the Tower.

many

many years ago. And if the said book be so notable as *Matter Story* affirmeth: I marvel that his Lord in so many yeares, doth not publish the same, for the glory of his ancestors?

It may be (said the Gentleman) that the secrets therein contained, be such, as it seemeth good to my Lord, to use them onely himselfe, and to gather the fruit of the tree into his owne house alone. For if the tree of the Common-wealth in *Edmund Dudlis* book, be the Prince and his race: and the fruits to be gathered from that tree, bee riches, honours, dignities, and preferments: then no doubt, but as the writer *Edmund* was cunning therein: so have his two followers, *John* and *Robert*, well studied and practized the same, or rather have, exceeded and farre passed the authour himselfe. The one of them gathering so eagerly, and with such vehemency, as he was like to have broken down the maine boughes for greedinesse: the other yet plucking and heaping so fast to himselfe and his friends, as it is and may be, most justly doubted, that when they have cropped all they can, from the tree left them by their father *Edmund* (I meane the race of King *Henry* the seventh) then will they pluck up the Stemme it self by the rootes, as unprofitable: and pitch in his place another Trunke that is the line of *Huntington*) that may begin to feed a new, with fresh fruits againe, and so for a time content their appetites, untill of gatherers, they may become trees, (which is their finall purpose) to feed themselves at their own discretion.

The supplanting
of the race of
Henry the 7.
The inserting of
Huntington.

And howsoever this be, it cannot be denied, but that *Edm. Dudlis* brood, have learned by this book, and by other meanes to be more cunning gatherers, then ever their first progenitor was, that made the book. First for that he made profession to gather

Edmund Dud-
leys brood more
cunning then
himselfe.

ther to his Prince (though wickedly) and these men make demonstration, that they have gathered for themselves: and that with much more iniquity. Secondly, for that *Edmund Dudley* though hee got himselfe neare about the tree, yet was he content to stand on the ground, and to serve himselfe from the tree, as commodity was offered: but his children not esteeming that safe gathering, will needs mount aloft upon the tree, to pull, crosse, and rife at their pleasure. And as in the second point the Sonne *John Dudley* was more subtile, then *Edmund* the Father: so in a third point, the Nephew *Robert Dudley* is more crafty then they both. For that, hee seeing the evil successe of those two that went before him, hee hath provided together so much in convenient time, and to make himselfe therewith so fat and strong, (wherein the other two failed) as he will never be in danger more, to be called to any accompt for the same.

Northumberland
and Leycester
with their Prince
will not be ruled.

Lawyer.

In good faith Sir (quoth the Lawyer) I thanke you heartily, for this pleasant discourse upon *Edmund Dudleis* tree of Common wealth. And by your opinion, my Lord of Leycester is the most learned of all his kindred, and a very cunning Logitioner indeed, that can draw for himselfe so commodious conclusions, out of the perillous premises of his progenitors.

Gentleman.

No marvail (quoth the Gentleman) for that his L. is Master of Art in Oxford, and Chancelour besides of the same Vniversity, where he hath store (as you know) of many fine wits and good Logitioners at his commandment: and where he learneth not only the rules and art of cunning gathering: but for the very practize (as I have touched before) seeing there is no one Colledge, or other thing

Leycester Master
of Art, and a cunning
Logitioner.

thing of commodity within that place, where
 hence he hath not pulled, whatsoever was possibly
 to be gathered, either by art or violence.

Touching Oxford (said I) for that I am an
 University man my selfe, and have both experience
 of Cambridge, and good acquaintance with di-
 vers students of the other university: I can tell
 you enough, but in fine all tendeth to this conclu-
 sion, that by his Chancellorship, is cancelled al-
 most all hope of good in that University: and by
 his protection, it is very like soone to come to
 destruction. And surely if there were no other
 thing, to declare the oddes and difference betwixt
 him and our Chancelour, (whom he cannot
 beare for that every way he seeth him, to passe him
 in all honour and vertue) it were sufficient to be-
 hold the present state of the two Universities,
 whereof they are heads and governours.

For our own, I will not say much, lest I might
 perhaps seeme partiall: but let the thing speak for
 it selfe. Consider the fruit of the Garden, and
 thereby you may judge of the Gardiners diligence.
 Looke upon the Bishopricks, Pastorships, and
 Pulpits of England, and see whence principally
 they have received their furniture for advance-
 ment of the Gospell. And on the contrary side,
 looke upon the Seminarie of Papistry at Rome
 and Rhems, upon the Colledges of Jesuits,
 and other companies of Papists beyond the
 seas, and see where-hence they are, especially,
 fraught.

The Priests and Jesuits here executed within
 the land, and other that remaine either in prison,
 or abroad in corners: are they not all (in a man-
 ner) of that University? I speak not to the disgrace
 of any good that remaine there, or that have issu-
 ed out thence into the Lords Vineyard: but for
 the

Scholar.

Leycesters abu-
 sing and spoiling
 of Oxford.

The Lord
 Treasurer.

Cambridge.

the most part there, of this our time, have they not either gone beyond the seas, or left their places for discontentment in Religion, or else become Servingmen, or followed the bare name of Law or Physick, without greatly profiting therein, or furthering the service of Gods Church, or their Commonwealth?

The disorders of Oxford by the wickednesse of their Chancellor

And wherehence (I pray you) ensueth all this, but by reason that the chiefe Governour thereof is an Atheist himselfe, and useth the place onely for gaine and spoile? for herehence it cometh, that all good order and discipline is dissolved in that place, the fervour of study extinguished: the publique Lectures abandoned (I meane of the more part:) the Tavernes and Ordinary tables frequented: the apparell of Students growne monstrous: and the statutes and good ordinance both of the University and of every Colledge and Hall in private, broken and infringed at my Lords good pleasure, without respect either of oath, custome, or reason to the contrary. The heads and Officers are put in and out at his onely discretion, and the Scholars places either sold, or disposed by his letters, or by these of his servants and followers: nothing can be had there, now, without present money: it is as common buying and selling of places in that University, as of horses in Smithfield: whereby the good and vertuous are kept out, and companions thrust in, fit to serve his Lord afterward, in all affaires that shall occurre.

Leases.

And as for leases of Farmes, Woods, Pastures, Personages, Benefices, or the like, which belong any way to any part of the University, to let or bestow, these, his Lord and his Servants have so fleeced, thorne, and scraped already, that there remaineth little to feed upon hereafter: albeit hee

want not still his spies and intelligences in the place, to advertise him from time to time, when any new little morfell is offered. And the principall instruments which for this purpose he hath had there before this, have been two Physitians, *Bay* and *Culprett*, both knowne Papists a little while agoe, but now just of *Galens* religion, and so much the fitter for my Lords humour: for his Lordship doth alwayes covet, to be furnished with certaine chosen men about him, for divers affairs: as these two *Galens* in the University: *Dee* and *Allen* (two Atheists) for figuring and conjuring: *Julio* the Italian, and *Lozas* the Jew, for poisoning, and for the art of destroying children in womens bellies: *Verneis* for murdering: *Digbies* for Bands: and the like in occupations which his Lordship exerciseth.

Wherefore to returne to the speech where we began: most cleare it is, that my Lord of *Leycester* hath meanes to gaine and gather also by the University, as well as by the countie abroad. Wherein (as I am told) he beareth himselfe so absolute a Lord, as if he were their King, and not their Chancellour. Nay far more then if he were the generall and particular founder of all the Colledges and other houses of the University; no man daring to contrary or interrupt the least word or signification of his will, but with his extreame danger: which is a proceeding more fit for *Phalaris* the tyrant, or some Governour in *Tartary*, then for a Chancellour of a learned University.

To this answered the Lawyer, for my Lords *Lawyer* wrath towards such as will not stand to his judgement and opinion, I can my selfe be a sufficient witness, who having had often occasion to deale for composition of matters betwixt his Lordship and others, have seene by experience, that alwayes

Leycesters instruments.

* At *Digbies* house in *Warwickshire* dame *Lettice* lay, and some other such pieces of pleasure.

ways they have sped bett, who stood least in contention with him, whatsoever their cause were. For as a great and violent river, the more it is stopped or contraried, the more it riseth and swelleth bigge, and in the end, dejecteth with more force the thing that made resistance: so his Lordship being the great and mighty Potentate of this Realme, and accustomed now to have his will in all things, cannot beare to bee crossed or resisted by any man, though it were in his owne necessary defence.

Hereof I have seene examples in the causes of Snowden forest in Wales, of Denbighe, of Kilingworth, of Drayton, and others: where the parties that had interest, or thought themselves wronged, had beene happy if they had yeilded at the first to his Lordships pleasure, without further question: for then had they escaped much trouble, charges, displeasure, and vexation, when by resistance they incurred, to their great ruine, (and

The perill of standing with Leycester in any thing.

* Poore men resisting Warwicks inclosure at North hall were hanged for his pleasure by Leycesters authority
Gentleman.
Great Tyranny.

* losse of life to some) and in the end were faine to submit themselves unto his will, with far worse conditions then in the beginning were offered unto them: which thing was pittifull indeed to behold, but yet such is my Lords disposition.

A noble disposition (quoth the Gentleman,) that I must give him my coat, if hee demand the same, and that quickly also, for feare lest if I stagger or make doubt thereof, hee compell me to yeeld both coat and doublet, in penance of my stay. I have read of some such Tyrants abroad in the world: marry their end was alwayes according to their life, as it is very like that it will be also in this man, for that there is smal hope of his amendment, and God passeth not over commonly such matters unpunished in this life, as well as in the life to come.

But I pray you fir, seeing mention is now made of the former oppressions, so much talked of throughout the realm, that you will take the pains to explain the substance thereof unto me; for albeit in generall, every man doth know the same, and in heart doe detest the tyranny thereof; yet we abroad in the Countrey, doe not understand it so well and distinctly as you that be Lawyers, who have scene and understood the whole processe of the same.

The case of Killingworth and Denbigh (said the Lawyer) are much alike in matter and manner of proceeding, though different in time, place and importance. For that the Lordship in Denbigh in Northwales, being given unto him by her Majesty a great while agoe, at the beginning of his rising, which is a Lordship of singular great importance in that Countrey, having (as I have heard) well neere 200. worshipfull Gentlemen freeholders to the same;) the tenants of the place, considering the present state of things, and having learned the hungry disposition of their new Lord; made a common purse of a thousand pounds, to present him withall, at his first entrance: which though he received (as he refuseth nothing;) yet accounted he the sum of small effect for satisfaction of his appetite; and therefore applied himselfe, not only to make the uttermost that he could by Leases, and such like wayes of comoditie; but also he would needs enforce the Freeholders to raise their old rent of the Lordship, from two hundred and fifty pounds a yeere, or thereabouts (at which rate he had received the same in gift from her Majesty,) unto eight or nine hundred pounds by the yeere, For that he had found out (forsooth) an old record, (as he said) whereby he could prove, that in ancient time

Lawyer.

The Lordship of Denbigh and Leicesters oppression used therein.

long past, that Lordship had yeilded so much old rent: and therefore he would now enforce the present tenants, to make up so much againe upon their lands, which they thought was against all reason for them to doe: but my Lord performed would have it so, and in the end compelled them to yeeld to his will, to the impoverishing of all the whole Countrey about.

The Manor of Killingworth and Leycesters oppression there.

The like proceeding he used with the tenants about Killingworth, where he received the Lordship and Castle from the Prince, in gift of twenty foure pounds yeerely rent or thereabouts, hath made it now better then five hundredth yeere: by an old record also, found by great fortune in the hole of a wall, as is given out (for he hath singular good luck alwayes in finding out records for his purpose) by vertue whereof, he hath taken from the tenants round about, their Lands, Woods, Pastures and Commons, to make himselfe Parkes, Chaces, and other commodities therewith, to the subversion of many a good family, which was maintained there, before this devourer had foot in that Countrey.

The cause of Snowden forest most pitifull.

But the matter of Snowden Forest, doth pass all the rest, both for cunning and cruelty: a tragedy whereof was this, he had learned by intelligencers abroad (whereof he had great store in every part of the Realme) that there was a goodly ancient Forest in North wales, which hath almost infinite borderers about the same, for it lyeth in the midst of the Countrey, beginning at the hills of Snowden (whereof it hath his name) in Carnarvanshire, and reacheth every way towards divers other shires. When my Lord heard of this, he entered presently into the conceit of a singular great prey: going to her Majesty, signified that her highnesse was often times

abused, by the incroaching of such as dwelt upon her Forests, which was necessary to be restrained; and therefore beseeched her Majesty to bestow upon him the incrochments only, which he should be able to finde out upon the Forest of Snowden, which was granted.

And thereupon he chose out Commissioners fit for the purpose, and sent them into Wales, with the like Commission as a certaine Emperour was wont to give his Magistrates, when they departed from him to governe, as *Suetonius* writeth, *Scitis in utilim & quous opus habeo*. You know what I would have, and what I have need of. Which recommendation, these Commissioners taking to heart, omitted no diligence in execution of the same; and so going into Wales, by such meanes as they used, of setting one man to accuse another; brought quickly all the Countrey round about in three or foure shires, within the compasse of Forest ground; and so entred upon the same, for my Lord of *Lislefhrs*. Whereupon, when the people were amazed, and expected what order my Lord himselfe would take therein: his Lord was so far off from refusing any part of that, which his Commissioners had presented and offered him: as he would yet further stretch the Forest beyond the sea, into the Isle of Anglesey, and make that also within his compasse and bounder.

An old tyrannical Commission

A ridiculous demonstration of excessive avarice

Which when the Commonalty saw, and that they proficed nothing by their complaining and crying out of this tyranny: they appointed to send some certaine number of themselves, to London, to make supplication to the Prince: and so they did; choosing out for that purpose a dozen Gentlemen, and many more of the Commons of the Countrey of *Llin*, to deale for the whole. Who coming to London, and exhibiting

a most humble supplication to her Majesty for redresie of their oppression : received an answer, by the procurement of my Lord of *Leycester*, that they should have justice, if the commonality would returne home to their houses, and the Gentlemen remaine there, to sollicite the cause. Which as soone as they had yeelded unto, the Gentlemen were all taken and cast into prison, and there kept for a great space, and afterward were sent downe to Ludlow, (as the place most eminent of all these Countries) there to wear papers of perjury, and receive other punishments of infamy, for their complaining : which punishments notwithstanding, afterward upon great suits of the parties and their friends, were turned into great fines of money, which they were constrained to pay, and yet besides to agree also with my Lord of *Leycester* for their owne lands, acknowledging the same to be his, and so to buye of him againe.

A singular oppression.

Wherby not onely these private Gentlemen, but all the whole Countrey thereabout, was and is (in a manner) utterly undone. And the participation of this injury, reacheth so far and wide, and is generall in these parts, as you shall scarce finde a man that cometh from that coast, who feeleth not the smart thereof; being either impoverished, beggered or ruinated thereby.

Leycester extremely hated in Wales.

Wherby I assure you that the hatred of all the Countrey, is so universall and vehement against my Lord; as I think never thing created by God was so odious to that Nation, as the very name of my Lord of *Leycester* is. Which his Lordship well knowing, I doubt not, but that he will take heed how he go thither to dwell, or send thither his posterity.

Continued.

For his posterity (quoth the Gentleman) I say

pose he hath little caue to be solicitour; for that God himselfe taketh care commonly, that goods and honours so gotten and maintained, as his be, shall never trouble the third heire. Marcy to himselfe, I confesse (the matter standing as you say) that he hath reason to forbear that Country, and to leave off his building begun at Denbigh, as I heare say he hath done: for that the universall hatred of a people, is a perilous matter; and if I were in his Lordships case, I should often thinke of the end of Nero; who after all his glory, upon fury of the people was adjudged to have his head thrust into a Pilory, and so to be beaten to death with rods and thongs.

The end of ty-
rants.

Nero.

Or rather I should feare the successe of *Vitellius* the third Emperor after Nero, who for his wickednesse and oppression of the people, was taken by them at length, when fortune began to faile him, and led out of his Palace naked, with hooks of Iron fastned in his flesh, and so drawn through the City with infamy, where, loden in the streets with filth and ordure cast upon him, and a prick put under his chin, to the end he should not looke downe or hide his face, was brought to the banke of Tyber, and there, after many hundred wounds received, was cast into the river. So implacable a thing is the furour of a multitude, when it is once stirred, and hath place of revenge. And so heavy is the hand of God upon tyrants in this world, when it pleaseth his divine Majesty to take revenge of the same.

Vitellius.

I have read in *Leander*, in his description of Italy, how that in Spolito (if I be not deceived) the chiefe City of the Country of Umbria, there was a strange tyrant; who in the time of his prosperity, contemned all men, and forbore to injury no man that camewithin his claws; esteeming himselfe sure

A most terrible
revenge taken
upon a tyrant.

enough for ever being called to render account in this life, and for the next he cared little. But God upon the sudden turned upside-downe the wheele of his felicity, and cast him into the peoples hands, who tooke him, and bound his naked body upon a planke, in the Market-place, with a fire and iron-tongues by him: and then made proclamation, that seeing this man was not otherwise able to make satisfaction, for the publique injuries that he had done; every private person annoyed by him, should come in order, and with the hot-burning tongues there ready, should take of his flesh so much, as was correspondent to the injury received, as indeed they did untill the miserable man gave up the ghost, and after too: as this author writeth.

Leycesters oppression of particular men.

But to the purpose: seeing my Lord careth little for such examples, and is become so hard now, as he maketh no account to injury and oppress whole Countries and Commonalties together; it shall be bootlesse to speake of his proceedings towards particular men, who have not so great strength to resist, as a multitude hath. And yet I can assure you, that there are so many and so pitifull things published daily of his tyranny in this kinde; as doe move great compassion towards the party that doe suffer, and honour against him who shameth not daily to offer such injury.

As for example: whose heart would not bleed to heare the case before mentioned of Master *Robinson* of Staffordshire; a proper yong Gentleman, and well given both in religion and other vertues; whose Father died at Newhaven, in her Majesties service, under this mans brother the Earle of Warwick; and recommended at his death this his eldest Son, to the special protection of *Leycester*

Leicester and his Brother, whose servant also this *Robinson* hath bin, from his youth upward, and spent the most of his living in his service. Yet notwithstanding all this, when *Robinsons* Lands were intangled with a certaine Londoner, upon interest for his former maintenance in their service, whose title my Lord of *Leicester* (though craftily, yet not covertly) under *Ferris* his cloak, had gotten to himselfe: he ceased not to pursue the poore Gentleman even to imprisonment, arraignment, and sentence of death, for greedinesse of the said living; together with the vexation of his brother in law *Master Harcourt*, and all other his friends, upon pretence, forsooth, that there was a man slaine by *Robinsons* party, in defence of his owne possession against *Leicesters* intruders, that would by violence breake into the same.

Master Harcourt.

What shall I speake of others, whereof there would be no end? as of his dealing with *Master Richard Lee*, for his Manor of Hooknorton (if I faile not in the name:) with *Master Ludowick Grivell*, by seeking to bereave him of all his living at once, if the drift had taken place? with *George Witney*, in the behalfe of *Sir Henry Leigh*, for inforcing him to forgoe the Controulership at Woodstock, which he holdeth by Patent from King *Henry* the seventh? with my Lord *Barkley*, whom he enforced to yeeld up his lands to his brother *Warwick*, which his ancestors had held quietly for almost two hundred yeeres together?

M. Richard Lee.

Ludowick Grivell

George Witney.

Lord Barkley.

What shall I say of his intollerable tyranny upon the last Archbishop of Canterbury, *for Julius* his sake, and that in so foule a matter? Vpon *Sir Iohn Throgmarton*, whom he brought pitifully to his grave before his time, by continual vexations, for a peece of faithful service done by him to his Countrey, and to all the line

Archbishop of
Canterbury.

Sir Iohn Throg-
marton.

of King *Henry*, against this mans Father, in King *Edward* and Queen *Maries* dayes? Upon divers of the *Lanes*, for one mans sake of that name before mentioned, that offered to take *Killingworth* Castle? upon some of the *Giffards*, and other for *Trogmorton*s sake? (for that is also his Lords disposition, for one mans cause whom he brooketh not, to plague a whole generation, that any way pertaineth, or is allied to the same:) his endlesse persecuting of *Sir Drew Drewry*, and many other Courtiers, both men and women? All these (I say) and many others, who daily suffer injuries, rapines and oppressions at his hands, throughout the Realme, what should it availe to name them in this place? seeing neither his Lord careth any thing for the same, neither the parties agrieved are like to attain any least release of affliction thereby, hut rather double oppression for their complaining.

Lanc.

Gifford.

Sir Drew Drewry

The present state
of my Lord of
Leycester.

Leycesters wealth

Leycest. strength

Leycest. cunning

Wherefore to return again wheras we began; you see by this little, who, and how great, & what maner of man, my Lord of *Leycester* is this day, in the state of England. You see, and may gather, in some part, by that which hath bin spoken, his wealth, his strength, his cunning, his disposition. His wealth is excessive in all kinde of riches for a private man, and must needs be much more, then any body lightly can imagine, for the infinite wayes he hath had of gaine, so many yeeres together. His strength and power is absolute and irresistible, as hath beene shewed both in Chamber, Court, Councell and Country. His cunning in plotting and fortifying the same, both by force and fraud, by Mines and countermines, by trenches, bulwarkes, flankers and rampiers: by friends, enemies, allies, servants, creatures, and dependents, or any other that may serve his turne; is very rare
and

and singular. His disposition to cruelty, murder, treason and tyranny : and by all these to supream Sovereignty over other, is most evident and cleare. And then judge you whether her Majesty that now raigneth (whose life and prosperity, the Lord in mercy long preserve,) have not just cause to feare, in respect of these things onely ; if there were no other particulars to prove his aspiring intent besides ?

Leycesters disposition.

No doubt (quoth the Lawyer) but these are great matters, in the question of such a cause as is a Crown And we have seen by example, that the least of these four, which you have here named, or rather some little branch contained in any of them, hath bin sufficient to found just suspicion, distrust or jealousy, in the heads of most wise Princes, towards the proceedings of more assured subjects, then my Lord of *Leycester*, in reason may be presumed to be. For that the safety of a state and Prince, standeth not onely in the readinesse and habilitie of resisting open attempts, when they shall fall out ; but also (and that much more as Statists write) in a certaine provident watchfulness, of preventing all possibilities and likelihoods of danger of suppression, for that no Prince commonly, will put himselfe to the curtisie of another man) be he never so obliged) whether he shall retaine his Crowne or no : seeing the cause of a Kingdome, acknowledgeth neither kindred, duty, faith, friendship, nor society.

Lawyer.

Causes of iust feare for her Maiesty.

I know not whether I doe expound or declare my self well or no; but my meaning is, that whereas every Prince hath two points of assurance from his subject ; the one, in that he is faithfull, and lacketh will to annoy his Soueraigne ; the other, for

for

A point of necessary policy for a Prince.

for that he is weake and wanteth ability to do the same: the first is alwayes of more importance then the second, and consequently more to be eyed and observed in policy: for that our will may be changed at our pleasure, but not our ability.

Considering then upon that which hath bene said and specified before, how that my Lord of *Leicester* hath possessed himself of all the strength, powers and sinewes of the Realme, hath drawne all to his own direction, and hath made his party so strong, as it seemeth not resistable: you have great reason to say, tht her Majesty may justly conceive some doubt, for that if his will were according to his power, most assured it is, that her Majesty were not in safety.

Scholar.

Say not so, good sir, (quoth I) for in such a case truly, I would repose little upon his will, which is so many wayes apparant, to be most insatiable of ambition. Rather would I thinke that as yet his ability serveth not, either for time, place, force, or some other circumstance: then that any part of good will should want in him; seeing that not onely his desire of sovereignty, but also his intent and attempt to aspire to the same, is sufficiently declared (in my conceit) by the very particulars of his power and plots already set downe. Which if you please to have the patience, to heare a Scholars argument, I will prove by a principle of our Philosophy.

A philosophicall argument to prove *Leycesters* intent of sovereignty.

For if it be true which *Aristotle* saith, there is no agent so simple in the world, which worketh not for some finall end, (as the bird buildeth not her nest but to dwell and hatch her yong ones therein:) and not onely this, but also that the same agent, doth alwayes frame his worke according to the proportion of his intended end (as when the Fox or Badger maketh a wide earth

or den, it is a signe that he meaneth to draw thither great store of prey:) then must we also in reason thinke, that so wise and politick an agent, as is my Lord of *Leicester* for himselfe, wanteth not his end in these plottings and preparations of his; I meane an end proportionable in greatness to his preparations. Which end can be no lesse nor meaner then supreame Sovereignty, seeing his provision and furniture doe tend that way, and are in every point fully correspondent to the same.

What meaneth his so diligent besieging of the Princes person? his taking up the wayes and passages about her? his insolency in Court? his singularity in the Councell? his violent preparation of strength abroad? his enriching of his complices? the banding of his faction, with the abundance of friends every where? what doe these things signifie (I say) and so many other, as you have well noted and mentioned before; but onely his intent and purpose of Supremacy? What did the same things portend in times past in his Father, but even that which now they portend in the *Sonne*? Or how should we thinke, that the *Son* hath another meaning in the very same actions, then had his Father before him, whose steps he followeth.

I remember I have heard oftentimes of divers ancient and grave men in Cambridge, how that in King *Edward*'s dayes the Duke of Northumberland this mans Father, was generally suspected of all men, to mean indeed as afterward he shewed, especially when he had once joyned with the house of *Suffolk*, and made himselfe a principall of that faction by marriage. But yet for that he was potent, and protested every where, and by all occasions his great love, duty, and speciall care, above all
 others,

The preparations of *Leycester* declare his intended end.

How the Duke of Northumberland dissembled his end.

others, that he bare toward his Prince & Country; no man durst accuse him openly, untill it was too late to withstand his power, (as commonly it falleth out in such affaires) and the like is evident in my Lord of *Leycesters* actions now (albeit to her Majesty, I doubt not, but that he will pretend and protest, as his Father did to her Brother) especially now after his open association with the faction of *Huntington*; which no lesse impugneeth under this mans protection, the whole line of *Henry* the seventh for right of the Crowne, then the house of *Suffolke* did under his Father the particular progeny of King *Henry* the eight.

Gentleman.

The boldnesse of
the titlers of
Clarence.

Nay rather much more (quoth the Gentleman) for that I doe not read in King *Edwards* raigne, (when the matter was in plotting notwithstanding) that the house of *Suffolke* durst ever make open claime to the next succession. But now the house of *Hastings* is become so confident, upon the strength & favor of their fautors, as they dare both plot, practice & pretend, all at once, and fear not to set out their title, in every place where they come.

Lawyer.

And do they not fear the statute (said the Lawyer) so rigorous in this point, as it maketh the matter treason to determine of titles?

Gentleman.

The abuse of the
Statute forsilence
in the true suc-
cession.

No: they need not (quoth the Gentleman) seeing their party is so strong and terrible, as no man dare accuse them: seeing also they well know, that the procurement of that Statute, was onely to endanger or stop the mouthes of the true Successors, whiles themselves in the meane space went about under hand, to establish their owne ambushment.

Lawyer.

Well: (quoth the Lawyer) for the pretence of my Lord of *Huntington* to the Crowne. I will not stand with you, for that it is a matter sufficiently known and seen throughout the Realme. As also
that

that my Lord of *Leycester* is at this day a principall favourer and patron of that cause, albeit some yeers past, he were an earnest adversary and enemy to the same. But yet I have heard some friends of his, in reasoning of these matters, deny stoutly a point or two, which you have touched here, and doe seeme to beleeeve the same.

And that is, first, that howsoever my Lord of *Leycester* do meane to helpe his friend, when time shall serve, yet pretendeth he nothing to the Crowne himselfe. The second is, that whatsoever may be meant for the title, or compassing the Crowne after her Majesties death, yet nothing is intended during her raigae. And of both these points they alledge reasons.

Two excuses alledg'd by *Leycester's* friends.

As for the first, that my Lord of *Leycester* is very well knowne to have no title to the Crowne himselfe, either by discent in blood, alliance or otherwayes. For the second, that his Lord. hath no cause to be a Malecontent in the present government, nor hope for more preferment, if my Lord of *Huntington* were King to morrow next, then he receiveth now at her Majesties hands; having all the Realme (as hath bin shewed) at his owne disposition.

For the first (quoth the Gentleman) whether he meane the Crowne for himselfe, or for his friend, it importeth not much; seeing both wayes it is evident, that he meaneth to have all at his owne disposition. And albeit now for the avoyding of envy, he give it out, as a crafty Fox, that he meaneth not but to run with other men, and to hunt with *Huntington* and other hounds in the same chase; yet is it not unlike, but that he will play the Beare, when he cometh to dividing of the pray, and will snatch the best part to himselfe. Yea, and these self same per-

Gentleman.

Whether *Leycester* meane the Crowne sincerely for *Huntington* or for himselfe.

sons of his traine and faction, whom you call his friend, though in publique, to excuse his doings, and to cover the whole plot, they will and must deny the matters to be so meant: yet otherwise they both thinke, hope and know the contrary, and will not sticke in secret to speake it, and among themselves, it is their talke of consolation.

The words of the Lord North, to Master Pooley.

The words of his speciall Councellour the Lord North, are known, which he uttered to his trusty Pooley, upon the receipt of a letter from Court, of her Majesties displeasure towards him, for his being a witnessse at *Leycesters* second marriage with Dame *Letrice* (although I know he was not ignorant of the first) at *Wanstead*: of which displeasure, this Lord making far lesse account then, in reason he should, of the just offence of his soveraigne, said: that for his owne part he was resolved to sinke or swimme with my Lord of *Leycester*, who (said he) if once the Cards may come to shuffling (I will use but his very own words) I make no doubt but he alone shall beare away the Bucklers,

Pooley told this to Sir Robert Iermine.

The words of Sir Thomas Layton brother in law to my Lord.

The words also of Sir *Thomas Layton*, to Sir *Henry Nevile*, walking upon the Tarrasse at *Windsor* are known, who told him, after long discourse of their happy conceived Kingdome, that hee doubted not, but to see him one day, hold the same office in *Windsor*, of my Lord of *Leycester*, which now my Lord did hold of the *Queene*. Meaning thereby the goodly office of *Constableship*, with all *Royalties* and and honours, belonging to the same, which now the said Sir *Henry* exerciseth onely as *Deputy* to the *Earle*. Which was plainely to signifie, that, he doubted not but to see my Lord of *Leycester* one day King, or els his other hope could never possibly take effect or come to passe.

To the same point tended the words of Mistress *Anne West*, Dame *Lettice* sister, unto the Lady *Anne Askew*, in the great Chamber, upon a day when her brother *Robert Knowles* had danced disgraciously and scornfully before the Queen in presence of the French. Which thing for that her Majesty tooke to proceed of will in him, as for dislike of the strangers in presence, and for the quarrell of his sister *Essex*; it pleased her Majesty to check him for the same, with addition of a re-
proachfull word or two (full well deserved) as though done for despite of the forced absence from that place of honour, of the good old Gentlewoman (I mitigate the words) his sister. Which words, the other young twig receiving in deepe dudge, brake forth in great choler to her forenamed companion, and said, That she nothing doubted, but that one day shee should see her sister, upon whom the Queene railed now so much (for so it pleased her to tearme her Majesties sharpe speech) to sit in her place and throne, being much worhier of the same, for her qualities and rare vertues, then was the other. Which undutifull speech, albeit it were overheard and condemned of divers that sate about them, yet none durst ever report the same to her Majesty, as I have heard sundry Courtiers affirme, in respect of the revenge which the reporters should abide at my Lord of *Leycesters* hands, whensoever the matter should come to light.

And this is now concerning the opinion and secret speeches of my Lords owne friends, who cannot but utter their conceit and judgement in time and place convenient, whatsoever they are willed to give out publikely to the contrary, for deceiving of such as will beleve faire painted words,

The words of
Mistrie Anne
West sister unto
this holy Coun-
tesse.

Three arguments words, against evident and manifest demonstration of reason.

of Leycesters
meaning for
himselfe before
Huntington.

I say reason, for that if none of these signes and tokens were, none of these preparations nor any of these speeches and detections, by his friends that know his heart; yet in force of plain reason, I could alleadge unto you three arguments onely which to any man of intelligence, would easily perswade and give satisfaction, that my Lord of *Leycester* meaneth best and first for himselfe in this suit. Which three arguments, for that you seeme to be attent; I will not stick to run over in all brevity.

The first argu-
ment, the Nature
of ambition.

And the first, is the very nature and quality of ambition it self, which is such, (as you know) that it never stayeth, but passeth from degree to degree and the more it obtaineth, the more it eovereth, and the more esteemeth it selfe, both worthy and able to obtaine. And in our matter that now we handle; even as in wooing, he that sueth to a Lady for another, and obtaineth her good will, entereth easily into conceit of his owne worthinesse thereby, and so commonly into hope of speeding himselfe, while he speaketh for his friend: so much more in Kingdomes: he that seeth himselfe of power to put the Crowne of another mans head, will quickly step to the next degree, which is, to set it of his owne, seeing that alwayes the charity of such good men, is wont to be so orderly, as (according to the precept) it beginneth with it selfe first.

Adde to this, that ambition is jealous, suspicious and fearfull of it selfe, especially when it is joyned with a conscience loden with the guilt of many crimes, whereof he would be loth to be called to account, or be subject to any man that might by authority take review of his life & actions, when it should

should please him. In which kinde, seeing my Lord of *Leycester* hath so much to encrease his feare, as before hath beene shewed by his wicked dealings: it is not like, that ever hee will put himselfe to another mans courtesie, for passing his audict in particular reckonings, which he can no way answer or satisfie: but rather will stand upon the grosse Sum, and generall *Quietus est*, by making himselfe chiefe Auditour, and Master of all accompts for his owne part in this life, howsoever he do in the next: whereof such humours have little regard. And this is for the nature of ambition in it selfe.

The second argument may bee taken from my Lords particular disposition: which is such, as may give much light also to the matter in question: being a disposition so well liking and inclined to a Kingdome, as it hath beene tampering about the same, from the first day that hee came in favour. First, by seeking openly to marry with the Queenes Majestie her selfe, and so to draw the Crowne upon his owne head, and to his posterity. Secondly, when that attempt tooke not place, then hee gave it out, as hath beene shewed before, how that he was privily contracted to her Majesty, (wherein as I told you his dealing before for satisfaction of a stranger, so let him with shame and dishonour remember now also, the spectacle hee secretly made for the persuading of a subject, and Counsellour of great honour in the same cause) to the end that if her Highnesse should by any way have miscarried, then he might have entuled any one of his owne brood, (whereof he hath store in many places as is knowne) to the lawfull succession of the Crowne, under colour of that privy and secret marriage, pretending the same to bee by her Majesty: wherein hee will want no witnesses to depose what hee will.

The second argument.
Leycesters particular disposition.

Leycesters disposition to tamper for a Kingdome.

I meane the noble old Earle of *Pembrook*.

The unduti-
full devise
of Naturall
issue, in the
Statute of
succession.

Thirdly, when he saw also that this devise was sub-
ject to danger, for that his privy contract might
be denied more easily, then he able justly to prove
the same, after her Majesties deccase: he had a new
fetch to strengthen the matter, and that was to
cause these words of (*Naturall issue*) to be put in-
to the Statute of succession for the Crowne, against
all order and custome of our Realme, and against
the knowne common stile of Law, accustomed
to bee used in Statutes of such matter: whereby
hee might be able after the death of her Majesty
to make legitimate to the Crowne any one bastard
of his owne, by any of so many hacknies as he kee-
peth, affirming it to bee the *Naturall issue* of her
Majesty by himselfe. For no other reason can bee
imagined why the ancient usuall words of *Law-
full issue* should so cunningly bee changed into
Naturall issue; thereby not onely to indanger our
whole Realme with new quarrels of succession, but
also to touch (as farre as in him lyeth) the Royall
honour of his Sovereaigne, who hath beene to him
but too bountifull a Princesse.

Fourthly, when after a time these fetches and de-
vices began to be discovered, he changed straight
his course, and turned to the Papists and Scottish
faction, pretending the marriage of the Quene in
prison. But yet after this againe, finding therein
not such successe as contented him throughly, and
having in the meane space a new occasion offered
of baite; he betooke himselfe fiftly to the party of
Huntington: having therein (no doubt) as good
meaning to himselfe, as his Father had by joyning
with *Suffolke*. Marry yet of late, he hath cast anew
about, once againe, for himselfe in secret, by trea-
ting the marriage of young *Arbella* with his Son,
intituled the Lord *Denbigh*.

The marriage
of *Arbella*.

So that by this we see the disposition of this man bent wholly to a scepter. And albeit in right title, and descent of blood (as you say) hee can justly claime neither Kingdome nor Cottage (considering either the basenesse or disloyalty of his Ancestours:) if in respect of his present state and power, and of his naturall pride, ambition, and crafty conveyance, received from his Father, hee hath learned how to put himselfe first in possession of chiefe rule, under other pretences, and after to devise upon the title at his leasure.

But now to come to the third argument: I say more, and above all this, that the nature and state of the matter it selfe, permitteth not, that my Lord of *Leycester* should meane sincerely the Crowne for *Huntington*; especially seeing there hath passed betweene them so many yeares of dislike and enmity: which albeit, for the time and present commodity, bee covered and pressed downe; yet by reason and experience we know, that afterward when they shall deale together againe in matters of importance, and when jealousie shall bee joyned to other circumstances of their actions, it is impossible that the former dislike should not breake out in farre higher degree, then ever before.

As wee saw in the examples of the reconciliation, made betwixt this mans Father, and *Edward*, Duke of *Somerset*, bearing rule under King *Edward* the sixth: and betweene *Richard* of *York*, and *Edmund* Duke of *Somerset*, bearing rule in the time of King *Henry* the sixth. Both which Dukes of *Somerset*, after reconciliation with their old, crafty, and ambitious enemies, were brought by the same to their destruction soone after. Whereof I doubt not, but my Lord of *Leycester* will take good heed, in joyning

The third argument.

The nature of the cause it-selfe.

The nature of old reconciliation.

ning by reconciliation with *Huntington*, after so long a breach: and will not be so improvident, as to make him his soveraigne, who now is but his dependent. He remembreth too well the successe of the Lord *Stanley*, who helped King *Henry* the seventh to the Crowne: of the Duke of *Buckingham*, who did the same for *Richard* the third: of the Earle of *Warwicke*, who set up King *Edward* the fourth: and of the three *Percies*, who advanced to the Scepter King *Henry* the fourth. All which Noblemen upon occasions that after fell out, were rewarded with death by the selfe same Princes, whom they had preferred.

The reason
of *Machavell*.

And that not without reason, as Seignior *Machavell*; my Lords Counsellour affirmeth. For that such Princes, afterward can never give sufficient satisfaction to such friends, for so great a benefit received. And consequently, least upon discontentment, they may chance to doe as much for others against them, as they have done for them against others: the surest way is, to recompence them with such a reward, as they shall never after be able to complaine of.

The meaning
of the Duke
of *Northum-
berland* with
Suffolke.

Wherefore I can never thinke that my Lord of *Leycester* will put himselfe in danger of the like successe at *Huntingtons* hands: but rather will follow the plot of his owne Father, with the Duke of *Suffolke*, whom no doubt, but hee meant onely to use for a pretext and helpe, whereby to place himselfe in supream dignity, and afterward whatsoever had befallen of the state, the others head could never have come to other end, then it enjoyed. For if *Queene Mary* had not cut it off, King *John* of *Northumberland* would have done the same in time, and so all men doe well know, that were privy to any of his cunning dealings.

And

And what *Huntings* secret opinion of *Leycester* is, (notwithstanding this outward shew of dependance) it was my chance to learne, from the mouth of a speciall man of that hasty King, who was his Ledger or Agent in *London*; and at a time falling in talke of his Masters title, declared that he had heard him divers times in secret, complaine to his Lady, (*Leycesters* sister) as greatly fearing that in the end, he would offer him wrong, and pretend some title for himselfe.

South-house.

Well (quoth the Lawyer) it seemeth by this last point, that these two Lords are cunning practitioners in the art of dissimulation: but for the former whereof you speake, in truth, I have heard men of good discourse affirme, that the Duke of *Northumberland* had strange devises in his head, for deceiving of *Suffolke*, (who was nothing so fine as himselfe,) and for bringing the Crowne to his owne Family. And among other devises it is thought, that hee had most certaine intention to marry the Lady *Mary* himselfe, after once hee had brought her into his owne hands) and to have bestowed her Majestie that now is, upon some one of his children (if it should have beene thought best to give her life, (and so consequently to have shaken off *Suffolke* and his pedegree, with con-digne punishment, for his bold behaviour in that behaife.

Lawyer.

The meaning of the D. of Northumberland towards the D. of Suffolke.

Verily (quoth I) this had beene an excellent Stratageme, if it had taken place. But I pray you (Sir) how could himselfe have taken the Lady *Mary* to wife, seeing hee was at that time married to another?

Scholar.

O (quoth the Gentleman) you question like a Schollar. As though my Lord of *Leycester* had not a wife alive, when hee first began to pretend marriage

Gentleman.

riage to the *Queenes Majesty*. Do not you remember the story of King *Richard* the third, who at such time as he thought best for the establishing of his title; to marry his owne Neece, that afterward was married to King *Henry* the seventh, how he caused secretly to be given abroad that his owne wife was dead, whom all the World knew to bee then alive and in good health, but yet soone afterward she was seene dead indeed. These great personages in matters of such weight, as is a Kingdome, have priviledges to dispose of Womens bodies, marriages, lives and deaths, as shall be thought for the time most convenient.

The practise of King *Richard* and for dispatching his Wife.

A new *Triumvirat* between *Leycester*, *Talbot*, and the Countesse of *Shrewesbury*.

And what doe you thinke (I pray you) of this new *Triumvirat* so lately concluded about *Arbella*? (for so I must call the same, though one of the three persons bee no *Vir*, but *Virago*;) I meane of the marriage betweene young *Denbigh* and the little Daughter of *Lenox*, whereby the Father-in-law, the Grand-mother, and the Uncle of the new designed *Queene*, have conceived to themselves a singular triumphant raigne. But what doe you think may ensue hereof? is there nothing of the old plot of Duke *John* of *Northumberland* in this?

Lawyer.

Marry Sir, (quoth the Lawyer) if this be so, I dare assure you there is sequell enough pretended hereby. And first, no doubt but there goeth a deep drift, by the wife and sonne, against old *Abraham* (the Husband and Father) with the well-lined large pouch. And secondly, a farre deeper, by trusty *Robert* against his best Mistresse; but deepest of all by the whole Crew, against the designements of the hasty Earle; who thirsteth a Kingdome with great intemperance, and seemeth (if there were plaine dealing) to hope by these good people to quench shortly his drought.

Humington.

But

But either part, in truth, seeketh to deceive other: and therefore it is hard to say where the game in fine will rest.

Well, howsoever that be (quoth the Gentleman) *Gentleman.* I am of opinion, that my Lord of *Leycester* will use both this practise and many more, for bringing the Scepter finally to his owne head: and that he will not onely imploy *Huntington* to defeate *Scotland*, and *Arbella* to defeate *Huntington*: but also would use the marriage of the Queene imprisoned, to defeate them both, if she were in his hand: and any one of all three to dispossesse her Majesty that now is: as also the authority of all foure to bring it to himselfe: with many other fetches, flings and friscoes besides, which simple men as yet doe not conceive. *The sleights of Leycester for bringing all to himselfe.*

And howsoever these two conjoynd Earles, doe seeme for the time to draw together, and to play booty: yet am I of opinion, that the one will beguile the other at the upshot. And *Hastings*, for ought I see, when hee commeth to the scambling, is like to have no better luck by the Beare, then his Ancestour had once by the Boare. Who using his helpe first in murdering the Sonne and Heire of King *Henry* the sixt, and after in destroying the faithfull Friends and Kinsmen of King *Edward* the fift, for his easier way to usurpation: made an end of him also in the Tower, at the the very same day and houre, that the other were by his counsell destroyed in *Pontfret Castle*. So that where the Goale and price of the game is a Kingdome, there is neither faith, neither good fellowship, nor faire play among the *Gamesters*. And this shall be enough for the first point: (*viz.*) what good my Lord of *Leycester* meaneth to himselfe in respect of *Huntington*. *Scambling between Leycester & Huntington at the upshot.*

Richard of Gloucester, An. 1. Edw. 5.

Touching the second, whether the attempt be

4. That the conspirators meane in her Majesties dayes.

purposed in her Majesties dayes or no, the matter is much lesse doubtfull, to him that knoweth or can imagine what a torment the delay of a Kingdome is, to such a one as suffereth hunger thereof, and feareth that every houre may breed some alteration, to the prejudice of his conceived hope. Wee see oftentimes that the childe is impatient in this matter, to expect the naturall end of his parents life. Whom, notwithstanding, by nature he is enforced to love: and who also by nature, is like long to leave this World before him: and after whose decease, hee is assured to obtaine his desire: but most certaine of dangerous event, if he attempt to get it, while yet his parent liveth. Which foure considerations are (no doubt) of great force to containe a child in duty, and bridle his desire: albeit sometimes not sufficient to withstand the greedy appetite of raigning.

Four considerations.

But what shall wee thinke, where none of these foure considerations do restraine? where the present Possessor is no parent? where she is like by nature, to out-live the expector? whose death must needs bring infinite difficulties to the enterprise? and in whose life-time the matter is most easie to be achieved, under colour and authority of the present Possessor? shall we thinke that in such a case the ambitious man will over-rule his owne passion, and lesse his commodity.

A thing worthy to be noted in ambitious men.

As for that which is alleadged before, for my Lord in the reason of his Detenders: that his present state is so prosperous, as hee cannot expect better in the next change whatsoever should be: is of small moment, in the conceipt of an ambitious head, whose eye and heart is alwayes upon that, which he hopeth for, and enjoyeth not: and not upon that which already hee possesseth, be it never so good.

Especially

Especially in matters of honour and authority, it is an infallible rule, that one degree desired and not obtained, afflicteth more then five degrees already possessed, can give consolation: the story of Duke *Haman* confirmeth this evidently, who being the greatest subject in the World under King *Affuerus*, Histor. 3. after he had reckoned up all his pompe, riches, glory, and felicity to his friends, yet hee said, that all this was nothing unto him, untill he could obtaine the revenge which hee desired, upon *Mardichæus* his enemy: and hereby it commeth ordinarily to passe, that among highest in authority are found the greatest store of Male-contents, that most doe endanger their Prince and Countrey.

When the *Percies* took part with *Henry* of *Bolingbrooke*, against King *Richard* the second their lawfull Sovereigne: it was not for lack of preferment, for they were exceedingly advanced by the said King, and possessed the three Earledomes of *Northumberland*, *Wor ester*, and *Stafford* together, besides many other offices and dignities of honour. The Percies.

In like sort, when the two *Neviles* tooke upon them to joyne with *Richard* of *Yorke*, to put downe their most benigne Prince, King *Henry* the sixt: and after again in the other side, to put downe King *Edward* the fourth; it was not upon want of advancement: they being Earles both of *Salisbury* and *Warwick*, and Lords of many notable places besides. But it was upon a vaine imagination of future fortune, whereby such men are commonly led: and yet had not they any smell in their nostrils of getting the Kingdome for themselves, as this man hath to prick him forward. The two Neviles.

If you say that these men hated their Sovereigne, *Leyesists* hated to her Majesty. and that thereby they were led to procure his destruction: the same I may answer of my Lord living, though

though of all men he hath least cause so to do. But yet such is the nature of wicked ingratitude, that where it oweth most, and disdaineth to be bound, there upon every little discontentment, it turneth double obligation into triple hatred.

The evil nature of ingratitude.

This he shewed evidently in the time of his little disgrace, wherein hee not onely did diminish, vilipend, and debase among his friends, the inestimable benefits hee hath received from her Majestie, but also used to exprobrate his owne good services and merits, and to touch her highnesse with ingrate consideration and recompence of the same; which behaviour, together with his hasty preparation to rebellion, and assault of her Majesties Royall person and dignity, upon so small a cause given, did well shew what minde inwardly he beareth to his Sovereigne, and what her Majesty may expect, if by offending him, shee should once fall within the compasse of his furious pawes: seeing such a smoke of disdain could not proceed, but from a fierie fornace of hatred within.

Leycesters speeches of her Majesty in the time of his disgrace.

And surely it is a wonderfull matter to consider what a little check, or rather the bare imagination of a small overthwart, may worke in a proud and disdainfull stomacke. The remembrance of his marriage missed, that hee so much pretended and desired with her Majestie, doth sticke deeply in his breast, and stirreth him daily to revenge. As also doth the disdain of certaine checks and disgraces received at sometimes, especially that of his last marriage: which irketh him so much the more, by how much greater feare and danger it brought him into at that time, and did put his Widow in such open phrensie, as shee raged many moneths after against her Majestie, and is not cold yet, but remaineth as it were a sworne enemy for that injury,

The causes of hatred in Leycester towards her Majesty.

injury, and standeth like a fiend or fury at the elbow of her *Amadis*, to stirre him forward when occasion shall serve. And what effect such female suggestions may worke, when they finde an humour proud and pliable to their purpose, you may remember by the example of the Duchesse of *Somerset*, who inforced her Husband to cut off the head of his onely deare Brother, to his owne evident destruction, for her contentation.

Wherefore, to conclude this matter without further dispute or reason: saying, there is so much discovered in the case as there is: so great desire of prepaigne, so great impatience of delay, so great hopes and hability of success, if it be attempted under the good fortune and present authority of the commanders: seeing the plots be so well laid, the preparation so forward, the favourers so furnished, the time so propitious, and so many other causes conuincing together: seeing that by differing, all may be hazarded, and by hastening, little can be endangered; the state and condition of things well conveyed: finding also the bands of duty so broken already in the conspirators, the causes of dislike and hatred so manifest, and the solicitours to execution, so potent and diligent, as women, made of dilice, and ambition, are wont to bee: it is more probable, that they will not leese their present commodity, especially seeing they have learned by the example of their Archi-type or Proto-plot which they follow, (I mean the conspiracy of *Northumberland* and *Suffolk* in King *Edwards* dayes) that herein there was some error committed at that time, which overthrew the whole; and that was, the deferring of some things untill after the Kings death, which should have bene put in execution before.

For if in the time of their plotting, when as yet their

The force of female suggestions.

An evident conclusion that the execution is meant in time of her Majesty.

An error of the Father now to bee corrected by the Sonne.

their designements were not published to the world, they had under the countenance of the King (as well they might have done) gotten into their hands the two Sisters, and dispatched some other few affaires, before they had caused the young Prince to die: no dobut, but in mans reason the whole designement had taken place: and consequently it is to be presupposed, that these men (being no fooles in their owne affaires) will take heed of falling into the like errour by delay: but rather will make all sure, by striking while the iron is hot, as our proverbe warneth them.

Lawyer.

It cannot bee denied in reason (quoth the Lawyer) but that they have many helpes of doing what they list now, under the present a favour, countenance, and authority of her Majesty, which they should not have after her Highness's decease: when each man shall remaine more at liberty for his supream obedience, by reason of the statute provided for the uncertainty of the next successor: and therefore I for my part, would rather counsell them to make much of her Majesties life; for after that, they little know what may ensue, or befall their designements.

Gentleman.

They will make the most thereof (quoth the Gentleman) for their owne advantage, but after that, what is like to follow, the examples of *Edward* and *Richard* the second, as also of *Henry* and *Edward* the sixt, doe sufficiently fore-warne us: whose lives were prolonged, untill their deaths were thought more profitable to the conspiratours, and not longer. And for the statute you speak of, procured by themselves, for establishing the uncertainty of the next true successor, (whereas all our former statutes were wont to be made for the declaration and certainty of the same) it is with *Proviso*, (as you know)

Her Majesties life and death, to serve the conspiratours turne.

King now) that it shall not endure longer then the life
 of her Majesty, that now raigneth : that is, indeed,
 no longer then untill themselves be ready to place
 another. For then, no doubt, but wee shall see a
 faire Proclamation, that my Lord of *Huntington* is
 the onely next heire : with a bundle of halters to
 hang all such, as shall dare once open their mouth
 for deniall of the same.

At these words the old Lawyer stepped back, as
 somewhat astonied, and began to make Crosses in
 the ayre after their fashion, whereat we laughed ;
 and then he said, truly my Masters I had thought
 that no man had conceived so evill imagination of
 this statute as my selfe : but now I perceive that I
 have done am not malicious. For my owne part, I must
 confesse unto you, that as often as I reade over this
 statute, or thinke of the same (as by divers occasi-
 ons many times I doe) I feele my selfe much gree-
 ved and afflicted in minde, upon feares which I
 conceive what may be the end of this statute to our
 Country, and what privy meaning the chiefe pro-
 curers thereof might have for their owne drifts, a-
 gainst the Realme and life of her Majestic that
 now raigneth.

And so much more it maketh mee to doubt, for
 that in all our records of law, you shall not find (to
 my remembrance) any one example of such a devise
 for concealing of the true inheritour : but rather in
 all ages, states, and times, (especially from *Richard*
 the first downward) you shall finde statutes, ordi-
 nances, and provisions, for declaration and mani-
 festation of the same, as you have well observed and
 touched before. And therefore, this strange and new
 devise must needs have some strange and unaccu-
 stomed meaning : and God of his mercy grant, that
 it have not some strange and unexpected event.

A Proclama-
 tion with
 halters.

Lawyer.
 Papisticall
 blessing.

The statute
 of concea-
 ling the heire
 apparant.

Richard go-
 ing towards
Hierusalem,
 began the
 custome by
 Parliament,
 as *Palidore*
 noteth, Anno
 10. of *Richard*
 the second, to
 declare the
 next heire.

In

The danger
of our Coun-
trei by con-
cealing the
next heire.

In sight of all men, this is already evident, that never Countrey in the world was brought into more apparent danger of utter ruine, then ours is at this day, by pretence of this Statute. For whereas there is no Gentleman so meane in the Realme, that cannot give a guesse more or lesse, who shall bee his next heire, and his Tenants soone conjecture, what manner of person shall be their next Lord: in the title of our noble Crown, whereof all the rest dependeth; neither is her Majesty permitted to know or say, who shall be her next successor, nor her subjects allowed to understand or imagine, who in right may be their future Sovereigne: An intollerable injury in a matter of so singular importance.

Great incon-
veniences.

For (alas) what should become of this our native Countrey, if God should take from us her most excellent Majesty (as once he will) and so leave us destitute upon the sudden, what should become of our lives, of our states, and of our whole Realme or government? can any man promise himselfe one day longer, of rest, peace, possession, life or liberty within the land, then God shall lend us her Majesty to raigne over us? Which albeit, wee doe and are bound to wish that it may bee long: yet reason telleth us, that by course of nature, it cannot bee of any great continuance, and by a thousand accidents it may be much shorter. And shall then our most noble Common-wealth and Kingdome, which is of perpetuity, and must continue to our selves and our posterity, hang onely upon the life of her Highnesse alone, well stricken in yeares, and of no great good health, or robustious and strong complexion?

Sir Christopher
Hatton's Ora-
tion.

I was within hearing some six or seaven yeeres agoe, when Sir *Christopher Hatton*, in a very great assembly, made an eloquent oration (which after I

were

wene was put in print) at the pardoning and delivery of him from the gallowes, that by errour (as was thought) had discharged his peece upon her Majestie: Barge, and hurt certaine persons in her Highnesse presence. And in that Oration he declared and described very effectually, what inestimable damage had ensued to the Realme, if her Majesty by that or any other means should have beene taken from us. He set forth most lively before the eyes of all men, what division, what dissension, what bloudshed had ensued, & what fatall dangers were most certaine to fall upon us, whensoever that dolefull day should happen: wherein no man should be sure of his life, of his goods, of his wife, of his children: no man certain whether to flie, whom to follow, or where to seeke repose or protection.

And as all the hearers there present did easily grant that he therein said truth, and farre lesse then might have beene said in that behalfe, things standing as they doe: so many one (I trow) hath heard these words proceed from a Councellour, that had good cause to know the state of his own Countrey, entred into this cogitation, what punishment they might deserve then, at the whole State and Commonwealths hands, who first by letting her Majesty from marriage, and then by procuring this Statute of dissembling the next inheritor, had brought their Realme into so evident and inevitable dangers: for every one well considered and weighed with himselfe, that the thing which yet only letteth these dangers and miseries set downe by Sir *Christopher*, must necessarily one day faile us all, that is, the life of her Majesty now present: and then (say we) how falleth it out, that so generall a calamity as must needs overtake us ere it be long (and may, for any thing we know to morrow next) is not provided for, as well as fore-seene.

Intollerable
Treasons.

Is

Is there no remedy, but that wee must willingly and wittingly runne into our owne ruine? and for the favour or feare of some few aspirours, betray our Countrey, and the bloud of so many thousand innocents as live within the land?

The miseries
to follow up-
on her Maje-
sties death.

For tell mee (good Sirs) I pray you, if her Majesty should die to morrow next (whose life God long preserve and blesse,) but if she should be taken from us, (as by condition of nature and humane frailty she may) what would you doe? which way would you looke? or what head or part knew any good subject in the Realme to follow? I speake not of the conspiratours, for I know they will bee ready and resolved whom to follow: but I speake of the plaine, simple, and well-meaning subjects, who following now the utter letter of this fraudulent statute, (fraudulent I meane in the secret concept of the cunning aspirours;) shall bee taken at that day upon the sudden, and being put in a maze by the unexpected contention about the Crowne, shall be brought into a thousand dangers, both of body and goods, which now are not thought upon by them who are most in danger of the same. And this is for the Common-wealth and Countrey.

The danger
to her Maje-
sty by this
statute.

But unto her Majesty, for whose good and safety the statute is onely pretended to be made, no doubt but that it bringeth farre greater dangers then any devise that they have used besides. For hereby under colour of restraining the claimes and titles of true successours, (whose endeavours notwithstanding, are commonly more calme and moderate then of usurpers,) they make unto themselves, a meane to forster and set forward their owne conspiracy without controlement: seeing no man of might may oppose himselfe against them, but with suspi-

on, that he meaneth to claime for himselfe. And so they being armed on the one side, with their authority and force of present fortune, and defended on the other side, by the pretence of the statute: they may securely worke and plot at their pleasure, as you have well proved before that they doe. And whensoever their grounds and foundations shall be ready, it cannot be denied, but that her Majesties life lyeth much at their discretion, to take it, or use it, to their best commodity: (and there is no doubt but they will,) as such men are wont to doe in such affaires. Marry one thing standeth not in their powers so absolutely, and that is, to prolong her Majesties dayes, or favour towards themselves, at their pleasures: whereof it is not unlike but they will have due consideration, least perhaps upon any sudden accident, they might be found unready.

They have good care thereof I can assure you, *Gentleman.*
 (quoth the Gentleman) and meane not to be prevented by any accident, or other mishap whatsoever: they will bee ready for all events: and for that cause, they hasten so much their preparations at this day, more then ever before: by sending out their spies and sollicitours every-where, to prove and confirme their friends, by delivering their common watch-word: by complaining on all hands of our Protestants Bishops and Clergy, and of all the present state of our reformed Religion, (as they call it;) by amplifying onely the danger of Papists and Scottish faction: by giving out openly that now her Majesty is past hope of Child-birth; and consequently, seeing God hath given no better successe that way in two Women one after the other; it were not convenient (say they) that another of that sexe should ensue, with high commendation of the Law *Salick* in *France*,

The hast-
ning of the
Conspir-
tours.

whereby women are forbidden to succeed. Which speech, though in shew it be delivered against the Queen of Scots, and other of King Henry the seventh his line, that discend of Sisters: yet all men see that it toucheth as well the disabling of her Majesty, that is present, as others to come: and so tendeth directly to Maturation of the principall purpose, which I have declared before.

Schollar.

The Watch-word of the Conspirators.

Here said I, for the rest which you speake of, besides the Watch-word, it is common and every where treated in talke among them: but yet for the Watch-word it selfe (for that you name it) I thinke (Sir) many know it not, if I were the first that told you the story, as perchance I was. For in truth I came to it by a rare hap (as then I told you) the thing being uttered and expounded by a Baron of their owne faction, to another Noble man of the same degree and religion, though not of the same opinion in these affaires. And for that I am requested not to utter the second, who told it me in secret, I must also spare the name of the first, which otherwise I would not; nor the time and place where he uttered the same.

Lawyer.

To this (said the Lawyer) you doe well in that: but yet I beseech you, let me know this Watch-word (if there bee any such) for mine instruction and helpe when need shall require. For I assure you that this Gentlemans former speech of haltes hath so terrified mee, as if any should come and aske, or feele my inclination in these matters, I would answer them fully to their good contentment, if I knew the Watch-word whereby to know them. For of all things, I love not to bee hanged for quarrels of Kingdomes.

Schollar.
Are you seduced.

This Watch-word is, (said I) *whether you be seduced or no?* and if you answer yea, and seeme to understand

derstand the meaning thereof: then are you knowne to be of their faction, and so to bee accompted and dealt withall for things to come. But if you stagger or doubt in answering, as if you knew not perfectly the mistery, (as the Nobleman my good Lord did, imagining that it had beene meant of his religion, which was very well knowne to be good, and setled in the Gospell) then are you discried thereby, either nor to be of their side, or else to be but a Punie A great mistery. not well instructed; and consequently, he that moveth you the question, will presently break off that speech, and turne to some other talke, untill afterward occasion be given to perswade you, or else instruct you better in that affaire.

Marry the Noble man, whereof I spake before, perceiving by the demanding, that there was some mistery in covert, under the question: tooke hold of the words, and would not suffer the propounder to slip away (as he endeavoured) but with much istreaty brought him at length to expound the full meaning and purpose of the riddle. And this was the first occasion (as I thinke) whereby this secret came abroad. Albeit afterwards at the publique Communion, which were made throughout so many Shires, the matter became more common: especially among the strangers that inhabite (as you know) in great numbers with us at this day. All which (as they say) are made most assured to this faction, and ready to assist the same with great forces at all occasions.

Good Lord (quoth the Lawyer) how many miste- Lawyer, ries and secrets be there abroad in the world, whereof we simple men know nothing, and suspect lesse. This Watch-word should I never have imagined: Assemblies at Commu- and for the great & often assemblies, under pretence nions. of Communion, though of themselves, and of their

owne nature, they were unaccustomed, and consequently subject to suspicion, yet I did never conceive so farre forth as now I doe: as neither of the lodging and entertaining of so many strangers in the Realme, whereof our Artizans doe complaine every-where. But now I see the reason thereof, which (no doubt) is founded upon great policy for the purpose. And by this also I see that the house of *Huntington* presseth farre forward for the game, and shouldreth neare the goale to lay hands upon the same, Which to tell you plainly, liketh me but a little: both in respect of the good will I beare to the whole Line of King *Henry*, which hereby is like to be dispossessed; as also for the misery which I doe fore-see, must necessarily ensue upon our Countrey, if once the challenge of *Huntington* take place in our Realme.: Which challenge being derived from the title of *Clarence* onely in the House of *Yorke*, before the union of the two great Houses: raiseth up againe the old contention betweene the Families of *Yorke* and *Lancaster*, wherein so much *English* blood was spilt in times past, and much more like to be powred out now, if the same contention should be set on foot againe. Seeing that to the controversie of Titles, would be added also the controversie of Religion, which of all other differences is most dangerous.

Strangers
within the
Land.

The perill of
our Countrey
if *Huntingtons*
claime take
place.

Gentleman.

Sir (quoth the Gentleman) now you touch a matter of consequence indeed, and such as the very naming thereof maketh my heart to shake and tremble. I remember well what *Philip Cominus* setteth downe in his History of our Countries calamity, by that contention of those two Houses, distinguished by the Red Rose and the White: but yet both in their Armes might justly have borne the colour of Red, with a fieric sword in a black field; to signifie the

The Red Rose
& the White.

the

the abundance of bloud and mortality which ensued
in our Countrey, by that most wofull and cruell
contention.

I will not stand here to set downe the particulars,
observed & gathered by the foresaid author, though
stranger, which for the most part he saw himselfe,
while hee lived about the Duke of *Burgundy*, and
King *Lewes* of *France*, of that time: namely the pit-
full description of divers right Noble men of our
Realme, who besides all other miseries, were driven
to begge openly in forraine Countries, and the like.
mine owne observation in reading over our Coun-
try affaires, is sufficient to make me abhorre the me-
mory of that time, and to dread all occasion that may
lead us to the like in time to come: seeing that in my
judgement, neither the Civill warres of *Marinus* and
Cicillia, or of *Pompey* and *Cesar* among the *Romanes*,
nor yet the *Guelphians* and *Gibelines* among the *Ita-*
lians, did ever worke so much woe, as this did to our
poore Countrey. Wherein by reason of the conten-
tion of *Torke* and *Lancaster*, were foughten sixtene
or seventeen pitched fields, in lesse then an hundred
yeares. That is, from the eleventh or twelfth yeare
of King *Richard* the second his raigne, (when this
controversie first began to bud up) unto the thir-
teenth yeare of K. *Henry* the seventh. At what time
by cutting off the chiefe titler of *Huntingtons* house,
yong *Edward Plantaginet* Earle of *warwick*,
the Son and Heire to *George*, Duke of *Clarence*; the con-
tention most happily was quenched and ended,
wherein so many fields (as I have said) were fough-
ten between Brethren and Inhabitants of our owne
Nation. And therein, and otherwise onely about the
same quarrel, were slain, murdered, and made away,
about nine or ten Kings, and Kings Sonnes; besides
above forty Earles, Marquesies, and Dukes of name:

The misery of
England by
the contenti-
on betweene
Torke and
Lancaster.

Guelphians
and *Gibelines*

Edward Plan-
taginet Earle
of *Warwick*.

The Battell
by Tadcaster
on Palme
Sunday, Aⁿ.
1460.

but many more Lords, Knights, and great Gentlemen and Captaines: and of the Common people without number, and by particular conjecture very neare two hundred thousand. For that in one Battell, fought by King *Edward* the fourth, there are recorded to be slaine on both parts, five and thirty thousand seven hundred and eleven persons, besides others wounded and taken prisoners, to be put to death afterward, at the pleasure of the Conquerour: at divers Battells after, ten thousand slaine at a Battell. And in those of *Baraet* and *Tukesbury*, fought both in one year.

The danger
of *Huntington*'s
claime, to the
Realme, and
to her Ma-
jesty.

This suffered our afflicted Country in those dayes, by this unfortunate and deadly contention, which could never be ended, but by the happy conjunction of those two Houses together, in *Henry* the seventh, neither yet so (as appeareth by Chronicle) untill (as I have said) the state had cut off the issue male of the Duke of *Clarence*, who was cause of divers perils to King *Henry* the seventh, though he were in prison. By whose Sister the faction of *Huntington* at this day, doth seeke to raise up the same contention againe, with farre greater danger both to the Realme and to her Majesty that now raigeth, then ever before.

And for the Realme it is evident, by that it giveth roome to strangers, Competitours of the House of *Lancaster*: better able to maintaine their owne title by sword, then ever was any of that lineage before them. And for her Majesties perill present, it is nothing hard to conjecture: seeing the same title in the fore-said Earle of *Warwick*, was so dangerous and troublesome to her Grandfather (by whom she holdeth) as hee was faine twice to take armes in defence of his right, against the said title, which was in those dayes preferred and advanced by the friends

of *Clarence*, before that of *Henry*: as also this of *Huntington* is at this day, by his faction, before that of her Majesty though never so unjustly.

Touching *Huntingtons* title, before her Majesty, *Lawyer*.

(quoth the Lawyer) I will say nothing: because in reason, I see not by what pretence in the World, he may thrust himselfe so farre forth: seeing her Majesty is descended, not onely of the House of *Lancaster*, but also before him most apparently from the House of *Torke* it selfe, as from the eldest Daughter of King *Edward* the fourth, being the eldest Brother of that House. Whereas *Huntington*

How *Huntington* maketh his title before her Majesty.

claimeth onely by the Daughter of *George* Duke of *Clarence*, the younger Brother. Marry yet I must confesse, that if the Earle of *Warwicks* title were better then that of King *Henry* the seventh, (which is most false, though many attempted to defend the same by sword:) then hath *Huntington* some wrong at this day by her Majesty. Albeit in very truth, the * attaints of so many of his Ancestours by whom he claimeth, would answer him also sufficiently in that behalfe, if his title were otherwise allowable.

* The most of *Huntingtons* Ancestours by whom hee maketh title, attainted of Treason.

But I know besides this, they have another fetch of King *Richard* the third, whereby he would needs prove his elder Brother King *Edward* to bee a Bastard: and consequently his whole line, aswell male as female to be void. Which devise though it be ridiculous, and was at that time when it was first invented: yet, as *Richard* found at that time a Doctor *Shaw*, that shamed not to publish and defend the same, at *Pauls* Crosse in a Sermon: and *John* of *Northumburland* my Lord of *Leycesters* Father found out divers Preachers in his time, to set up the title of *Susfolke*, & to debase the right of *K. Henriess* daughter, both in *London*, *Cambridge*, *Oxford*, and other places,

The infamous device of King *Richard* the third, allowed by *Huntington*.

Anno 1. Mariae.

most apparently against all Law and reason: so I doubt not but these men would finde out also both *Shawes, Sands,* and others, to set out the title of *Clairence*, before the whole interest of King *Henry* the seventh and his posterity, if occasion served. Which is a point of importance to be considered by her Majesty; albeit for my part, I meane not now to stand thereupon, but onely upon that other of the House of *Lancaster*, as I have said.

A point to be noted by her Majesty.

For as that most honourable, lawfull, and happy conjunction of the two adversary Houses, in King *Henry* the seventh and his Wife, made an end of the shedding of *Engl. sh* blood within it selfe, and brought us that most desired peace, which ever since wee have enjoyed, by the raigne of their two most noble issue: so the plot that now is in hand, for the cutting off the residue of that issue, and for recalling backe of the whole Title to the House of *Torke* againe; is like to plung us deeper then ever in civile discord, and to make us the bait of all forraigne Princes: seeing there be among them at this day, some of no small power (as I have said) who pretend to be the next heires by the House of *Lancaster*: and consequently, are not like to give over or abandon their owne right, if once the doore be opened to contention for the same, by disanulling the Line of King *Henry* the seventh: wherein onely the keys of all concord remaine knit together.

The joyning of both houses.

The Line of Portugall.

And albeit I know well that such as be of my Lord of *Huntingtons* party, will make small accompt of the Title of *Lancaster*, as lesse rightfull a great deale then that of *Torke*, (and I for my part meane not greatly to avow the same, as now it is placed, being my selfe no favourer of forraigne Titles :) yet indifferent men have to consider how it was taken in

times

times past, and how it may againe in time to come, if contention should arise: how many Noble personages of our Realme did offer themselves to die in defence thereof: how many Oaths and Lawes were given and received throughout the Realme for maintenance of the same, against the other House of *Yorke* for ever: how many worthy Kings were crowned, and raigned of that House and Race; to wit, the foure most Noble *Henries*, one after another; the fourth, the fitt, the sixt, and the seventh: who both in number, government, sanctity, courage, and feats of armes, were nothing inferiour (if not superiour) to those of the other House and Line of *Yorke*, after the division betweene the Families.

The old estimation of the House of *Lancaster*.

It is to be considered also as a speciall signe of the favour and affection of our whole Nation unto that Family: that *Henry* Earle of *Richmond*, though dilcending but of the last Sonne, and third Wife of *John* of *Gaunt*, Duke of *Lancaster*, was so respected for that onely by the univerrall Realme: as they inclined wholly to call him from banishment, and to make him King with the deposition of *Richard*, which then ruled of the House of *Yorke*, upon condition onely, that the said *Henry* should take to Wife a Daughter of the contrary Family: so great was in those dayes the affection of *Englisb* hearts towards the Line of *Lancaster*, for the great worthnesse of such Kings as had raigned of that Race, how good or bad soever their Title were: which I stand not here at this time to discusse, but onely to insinuate what party the same found in our Realme in times past; and consequently, how extreame dangerous the contention for the same may be hereafter: especially, seeing that at this day the remainder of that Title is pretended to rest wholly in a stranger, whose power is very great. Which we Lawyers are

Henry Earle of *Richmond*.

The Line of *Portugall*.

are wont to esteeme as a point of no small importance, for justifying of any mans title to a Kingdome.

Scholar.

You Lawyers want not reason in that Sir (quoth I) howsoever you want right: for if you will examine the succession of governements, from the beginning of the World untill this day, either among Gentile, Jew, or Christian people, you shall finde that the sword hath beene alwayes better then halfe the title, to get, establish, or maintaine a Kingdome: which maketh me the more apalled to heare you discourse in such sort of new contentions, and forraine titles, accompanied with such power and strength of the titlers, which cannot bee but infinitely dangerous and fatall to our Realme, if once it come to action; both for the division that is like to be at home, and the variety of parties from abroad. For as the Prince whom you signifie, will not faile (by all likelyhood) to pursue his title with all forces that hee can make, if occasion were offered: so reason of state and policy will enforce other Princes adjoyning, to let and hinder him therein what they can: and so by this meanes shall we become *Juda* and *Israel* among our selves, one killing and vexing the other with the sword: and to forraine Princes we shall be, as the Iland of *Salamina* was in old time to the *Atbenians* and *Megarians*: and as the Iland of *Cicilia* was afterward to the *Grecians*, *Cartbaginians*, and *Romans*: and as in our dayes, the Kingdome of *Naples* hath beene to the *Spaniards*, *French-men*, *Germans*, and *Venetians*; That is, a bait to feed upon, and a game to fight for.

Wherefore, I beseech the Lord, to avert from us all occasions of such miseries. And I pray you Sir, for that wee are fallen into the mention of these matters,

The sword of great force to justifye the title of a kingdome.

Great dangers.

matters, to take so much paines as to open unto me the ground of these controversies, so long now quiet betweene *Torke* and *Lancaster*: seeing they are now like to bee raised againe. For albeit in generall I have heard much thereof; yet in particular, I either conceive not, or remember not the foundation of the same; and much lesse the state of their severall titles at this day, for that it is a study not properly pertaining unto my profession.

The controversie betweene the Houses of *Torke* and *Lancaster* (quoth the Lawyer) took his actual beginning in the issue of King *Edward* the third, who died somewhat more then two hundred yeares agoe: but the occasion, pretence, or cause of that quarrell, began in the children of King *Henry* the third, who died an hundred yeares before that, and left two Sonnes; *Edward*, who was King after him, by the name of *Edward* the first, and was Grandfather to *Edward* the third: and *Edmond* (for his deformity called *Crookebacke*) Earle of *Lancaster*, and beginner of that House, whose inheritance afterward in the fourth discent, fell upon a Daughter named *Blanch*, who was married to the fourth Son of King *Edward* the third, named *John* of *Gaunt*, for that he was borne in the City of *Gaunt* in *Flanders*, and so by this his first wife, hee became Duke of *Lancaster*, and heire of that House. And for that his Son *Henry* of *Bolingbrooke* (afterward called King *Henry* the fourth) pretended among other things, that *Edmond Crookeback*, great Grandfather to *Blanch* his mother, was the elder Sonne of King *Henry* the third, and unjustly put by the inheritance of the Crowne, for that he was Crook-backed and deformed: hee tooke by force the Kingdome from *Richard* the second, Nephew to King *Edward* the third, by his first Sonne; and placed the same

Lawyer.

The beginning of the controversie betwixt *Tork* and *Lancaster.*

Edmond Crookeback beginner of the House of *Lancaster.*

Blanch.

John of *Gaunt.*

in

How the King in the House of *Lancaster*, where it remained for
 dome was three whole discentes, untill afterward, *Edward*
 first brought Duke of *Yorke* descended of *Iohn* of *Gaunts* yonger
 to the House brother, making claime to the Crowne by title of
 of *Lancaster*. his Grandmother, that was heire to *Lionel*, Duke
 of *Clarence*, *Iohn* of *Gaunts* elder Brother, tooke
 the same by force from *Henry* the sixt, of the House
 of *Lancaster*, and brought it backe againe to the
 House of *Yorke*: where it continued with much
 trouble in two Kings onely, untill both Houses
 were joyned together in King *Henry* the seventh,
 and his noble issue.

Hereby wee see how the issue of *Iohn* of *Gaunt*,
 Duke of *Lancaster*, fourth Son to King *Edward* the
 third, pretended right to the Crowne by *Edmond*
Crookebacke, before the issue of all the other three
 Sonnes of *Edward* the third, albeit they were the el-
 der Brothers, whereof wee will speake more here-
 after. Now *Iohn* of *Gaunt* though hee had many
 children, yet had he foure onely, of whom issue re-
 maine, two Sonnes and two Daughters. The first
 Son was *Henry* of *Bolingbrooke*, Duke of *Lancaster*,
 who tooke the Crowne from King *Richard* the se-
 cond, his Unkles Sonne, as hath beene said; and first
 of all planted the same in the House of *Lancaster*:
 where it remained in two discentes after him, that is,
 in his Son *Henry* the fift, and in his Nephew *Henry*
 the sixt, who was afterward destroyed, together with
Henry Prince of *wales*, his onely Sonne and Heire,
 and consequently all that Line of *Henry* *Boling-*
brooke extinguished, by *Edward* the fourth of the
 House of *Yorke*.

The other Son of *Iohn* of *Gaunt*, was *Iohn*, Duke
 of *Somerset*, by *Katherine* *Sfinsford*, his third wife:
 which *Iohn* had issue another *Iohn*, and he, *Margaret*
 his Daughter and Heire, who being married to *Ed-*
mond

The issue of
Iohn of *Gaunt*.

The pedegree
 of King *Henry*
 the seventh.

mond Tyder, Earle of *Richmond*, had issue *Henry* Earle of *Richmond*, who after was named King *Henry* the seventh, whose Line yet endureth.

The two Daughters of *John* of *Gaunt* were married to *Portugall* and *Castile*: that is, *Philip* borne of *Blanch*, Heire to *Edmond Croukeback*, as hath beene said, was married to *John* King of *Portugall*, of whom is descended the King that now possesseth *Portugall*, and the other Princes which have or may make title to the same: and *Katherin* borne of *Constance*, Heire of *Castile*, was married back againe to *Henry* King of *Castile* in *Spaine*, of whom King *Philip* is also descended. So that by this, wee see where the remainder of the House of *Lancaster* resteth, if the Line of King *Henry* the seventh were extinguished: and what pretext foraine Princes may have to subdue us, if my Lord of *Huntington* either now, or after her Majesties dayes, will open to them the doore, by shutting out the rest of King *Henries* Line, and by drawing backe the title to the onely House of *Torke* againe: which he pretendeth to doe, upon this that I will now declare.

The two Daughters married to *Portugall* and *Castile*.

Foraine titles.

King *Edward* the third, albeit he had many children, yet five onely will we speake of at this time: Whereof three were elder then *John* of *Gaunt*, and one yonger. The first of the elder was named *Edward* the blacke Prince, who died before his Father, leaving one onely Sonne named *Richard*, who afterward being King, and named *Richard* the second, was deposed without issue, and put to death by his Cosin germain, named *Henry Bolingbrooke*, Duke of *Lancaster*, Son to *John* of *Gaunt*, as hath beene said; and so there ended the Line of King *Edwards* first Sonne.

The issue of King *Edward* the 3^d.

King *Edwards* second Sonne, was *William* of *Hatfield*, that died without issue.

His

His third Sonne was *Leonell Duke of Clarence*, whose onely Daughter and Heire called *Philip*, was married to *Edmond Mortimer Earle of March*: and after that, *Anne* the Daughter and Heire of *Mortimer*, was married to *Richard Plantaginet*, Duke of *Yorke*, Son and Heire to *Edmond of Langley*, the first Duke of *Yorke*: which *Edmond* was the fifth Son of King *Edward* the third, and younger Brother to *John of Gaunt*. And this *Edmond of Langley* may bee called the first beginner of the House of *Yorke*: even as *Edmond Crouchback*, the beginner of the House of *Lancaster*.

Two *Edmonds* the two beginners of the two Houses of *Lancaster* and *Yorke*.

This *Edmond Langley*, then having a Sonne named *Richard*, that married *Anne Mortimer*, sole Heire to *Leonell Duke of Clarence*, joyned two Lines and two Titles in one: I meane the Line of *Leonell*, and of *Edmond Langley*, who were (as hath bin said) the third and the fifth Sonnes to King *Edward* the third. And for this cause, the childe that was borne of this marriage, named after his Father *Richard Plantaginet*, Duke of *Yorke*, seeing himselfe strong, and the first Line of King *Edward* the thirds eldest Son to be extinguished in the death of King *Richard* the second: and seeing *william* of *Hatfield* the second Sonne dead likewise without issue: made demand of the Crowne for the House of *Yorke*, by the title of *Leonell* the third Sonne of King *Edward*. And albeit hee could not obtaine the same in his dayes, for that hee was slaine in a Battell against King *Henry* the sixt at *wakefield*: yet his Sonne *Edward* got the same, and was called by the name of King *Edward* the fourth.

The claime and title of *Yorke*.

The issue of King *Edward* the fourth.

This King at his death left divers children, as namely two Sonnes, *Edward* the fifth and his Brother, who after were both murdered in the Tower, as shall be shewed: and also five Daughters: to wit,
Elizabeth,

Elizabeth, Cicily, Anne, Katherine, and Briges.
Whereof, the first was married to *Henry* the seventh.
The last became a Nunne, and the other three were
bestowed upon divers other husbands.

Hee had also two Brothers: the first was called *The Duke of*
George Duke of Clarence, who afterward upon his *Clarence* ac-
deserts (as is to be supposed,) was put to death in *Clarence* ac-
Callis, by commandement of the King, and his at- *Clarence* ac-
tainder allowed by Parliament. And this man left *Clarence* ac-
behinde him a Sonne, named *Edward Earle of*
warwick, put to death afterward without issue, by *Clarence* ac-
King *Henry* the seventh, and a Daughter named *Clarence* ac-
Margaret, Countesse of *Salisbury*, who was married *Clarence* ac-
to a meane Gentleman named *Richard Poole*, by *Clarence* ac-
whom she had issue *Cardinall Poole*, that died with-
out marriage; and *Henry Poole* that was attainted *Huntingtons*
and executed in King *Henry* the eight his time; *Huntingtons*
(as also her selte was) and this *Henry Poole* left a *Huntingtons*
Daughter married afterward to the Earle of *Hun-*
tington, by whom this Earle that now is maketh title *Huntingtons*
to the Crowne. And this is the effect of my Lord of *Huntingtons*
Huntingtons title.

The second Brother of King *Edward* the fourth,
was *Richard Duke of Glocester*, who after the Kings *King Richard*
death, caused his two Sonnes to be murdered in the *the third.*
Tower, and tooke the Kingdome to himselfe. And
afterward he being slaine by King *Henry* the seventh
at *Bosworth-field*, left no issue behind him. Where-
fore King *Henry* the seventh descending as hath bin
shewed of the House of *Lancaster*, by *John of Gaunts*
last Sonne and third Wife, and taking to Wife Lady *The happy*
Elizabeth, eldest daughter of King *Edward* the *conjunction*
fourth, of the House of *Torke*: joyned most happily *of the two*
the two Families together, and made an end of all *Houses.*
controversies about the title.

Now King *Henry* the seventh had issue three Chil-
dren:

The issue of King *Henry* the seventh.

The Line and Title of *Scotland* by *Margaret*, eldest Daughter to King *Henry* the 7.

Arbella.

The Line and Title of *Suffolke* by *Mary*, second daughter to King *Henry* the 7.

The issue of *Francis*, eldest Daughter to *Charles Brandon*, Duke of *Suffolke*.

dren : of whom remaineth posterity. First, *Henry* the eighth, of whom is descended our Sovereigne, her Majesty that now happily raigneth, and is the last that remaineth alive of that first Line. Secondly, he had two Daughters : whereof the first named *Margaret*, was married twice ; first to *James* King of *Scotland*, from whom are directly descended the *Queene* of *Scotland* that now liveth, and her Sonne and King *James* being dead, *Margaret* was married againe to *Archibald Douglas* Earle of *Anguish* : by whom shee had a Daughter named *Margaret*, which was married afterward to *Matthew Steward*, Earle of *Lenox*, whose Sonne *Charles Steward* was married to *Elizabeth Candish*, Daughter to the present Countesse of *Shrewsbury*, and by her hath left his onely Heire, a little Daughter named *Arbella*, of whom you have heard some speech before. And this is touching the Line of *Scotland*, descending from the first and eldest Daughter of King *Henry* the seventh.

The second Daughter of King *Henry* the seventh called *Mary*, was twice married also : first to the King of *France*, by whom she had no issue : and after his death to *Charles Brandon* Duke of *Suffolke*, by whom she had two Daughters ; that is, *Francis*, of which the Children of my Lord of *Hartford* do make their claime : and *Elenor*, by whom the issue of the Earle of *Darby* pretendeth right, as shall be declared. For that *Francis* the first Daughter of *Charles Brandon* by the *Queene* of *France*, was married to the *Marquesse* of *Dorset*, who after *Charles Brandons* death, was made Duke of *Suffolke* in right of his *Wife*, and was beheaded in *Queene Maries* time, for his conspiracy with my Lord of *Leycesters* Father. And she had by this man three Daughters : that is, *Jane*, that was married to my Lord of *Leycesters* Brother, and proclaimed

proclaimed *Queene* after *King Edwards* death, for which both shee and her husband were executed: *Katherine* the second Daughter, who had two *Sonnes*, yet living by the *Earle of Hartford*: and *Mary* the third Daughter, which left no Children.

The other Daughter of *Charles Brandon* by the *Queene of France* called *Eleanor*, was married to *George Clifford* *Earle of Cumberland*, who left a Daughter by her named *Margaret*, married to the *Earle of Darby*, which yet liveth, and hath issue. And this is the title of the *House of Suffolke*, descended from the second Daughter of *K. Henry* the seventh, married (as hath been shewed) to *Charles Brandon* *Duke of Suffolke*. And by this, you may see also how many there be, who do thinke their titles to be far before that of my *Lord of Huntington*, of either right, law, reason, or consideration of home affaires may take place in our *Realm*: or if not, yet you cannot but imagine how many great *Princes* and *Potentates* abroad, are like to joyne and buckle with *Huntingons* Line for the preeminence: if once the matter fall againe to contention by excluding the Line of *King Henry* the seventh, which *God* forbid.

Truly Sir (quoth I) I well perceive that my *Lords* turne is not so nigh as I had thought, whether he exclude the Line of *King Henry*, or no: for if he exclude that, then must he enter the *Combat* with forraigne titlers of the *House of Lancaster*: and if he exclude it not, then is all appearance of reason and in *Law* to (as you have said) the succession of the two Daughters of *King Henry* the seventh (which you distinguish by the two names of *Scotland* and *Suffolke*) must needs bee as clearly before him and his Line, that descended only from *Edwara* the fourth his *Brother*, as the *Queenes* title that now reigneth.

The issue of Francis eldest daughter to Charles Brandon Duke of Suffolk.

The issue of Eleanor second daughter to Charles Brandon.

Scholar.

Huntington be-
hind many
other titles.

is before him. For that both Scotland, Suffolke and her Majesty do hold all by one foundation, which is the union of both Houses and Titles together, in King *Henry* the seventh her Majesties Grandfather.

Gentleman.

That is true (quoth the Gentleman) and evident enough in every mans eye; and therefore no doubt: but as that much is meant against her Majesty, if occasion serve, as against the rest that hold by the same title. Albeit her Majesties state (the Lord be praised) be such at this time, as it is not safety to pretend so much against her, as against the rest, whatsoever be meant. And that in truth, more should be ment against her highnes, then against all the rest: there is this reason; for that her Majesty by her present possession letteth more their desires, then all the rest together with their future pretences. But as I have said, it is not safety for them, nor yet good policy to declare openly, what they meane against her Majesty. It is the best way for the present to hew downe the rest, and to leave her Majesty for the last blow and upshot to their game. For which cause, they will seeme to make great difference at this day, betweene her Majesties title and the rest, that descend in likewise from King *Henry* the seventh: avowing the one, and disallowing the other. Albeit, my Lord of *Leicesters* Father, preferred that of *Suffolke*, when time was, before this of her Majesty, and compelled the whole Realme to swear thereunto. Such is the variable policy of men, that serve the time, & rather that serve themselves, of all times, for their purposes.

The policy of the conspiratours for the deceiving of her Maicesty.

Scholar.

I remember (quoth I) that time of the Duke, and was present my selfe, at some of his Proclamations for that purpose: wherein my Lord his Sonne

Sonne

Sonne that now liveth : being then a doer, (as I can tell he was :) I marvile how he can deale so contrary now : preferring not onely her Majesties title before that of *Suffolk* (whereof I wonder less : because it is more gainfull to him,) but also another much further of. But you have signified the cause, in that the times are changed, and other bargaines are in hand of more importance for him. Wherefore leaving this to be considered by others whom it concerneth, I beseech you, Sir, (for that I know, your worship hath beene much conversant among their friends and favourers) to tell me what are the barres and lets which they doe alledge, why the house of Scotland and *Suffolk* descended of king *Henry* the seventh his daughters, should not succeed in the Crowne of England after her Majesty, who ended the line of the same king by his son ; for in my sight the matter appeareth very plaine.

Loycesters variability.

They want not pretences of barres and lets against them all (quoth the Gentleman) which I will lay downe in order, as I have heard them alledged. First, in the line of Scotland there are three persons as you know, that may pretend right, that is the Queen and her son by the first marriage of *Margaret*, and *Arbella* by the second. And against the first marriage, I heare nothing affirmed; but against the two persons proceeding thereof, I heare them alledge three stops, one for that they are strangers born out of the land, & consequently incapable of inheritance within the same; 2. another for that by a special testament of king *H. 8.* authorized by 2. severall parliam. they are excluded; 3. for that they are enemies to the religion now among us & therefore to be debarred.

Gentleman.

Barres pretended against the claim of Scotland and *Suffolke.*

Against the Queen of Scotland and her sonne.

Against the second marriage of *Margaret* with *Arbibalde Daug'as* whereof *Arbella* is descended,

Against *Arbella.*

they alledge, that the said *Archibald* had a former wife at the time of that marriage, which lived long after: and so neither that marriage lawfull, nor the issue thereof legitimate.

The same barre they have against all the house and Line of Suffolke, for first they say, that *Charles Brandon* Duke of Suffolke, had a knowen wife alive when he married *Mary* Queen of France, and consequently, that neither the Lady *Frances* nor *Elenor*, borne of that marriage, can be lawfully borne. And this is all, I can heare them say against the succession of the Countesse of *Darby* descended of *Elenor*. But against my Lord of *Hartford*s children, that came from *Frances* the eldest daughter, I heare them alledge two or three bastardies more besides this of the first marriage. For first, they affirme that *Henry* Marquesse *Dorset*, when hee married the Lady *Frances*, had to wife the old Earl of *Arundels* sister, who lived both then and many yeares after, and had a provision out of his living to her dying day: whereby that marriage could no way be good. Secondly that the lady *Katherine*, daughter to the said Lady *Frances*, by the *Marques* (by whom the Earl of *Hartford* had his children) was lawfully married to the Earle of *Pembroke* that now liveth, and consequently, could have no lawfull issue by any other during his life. 3ly. that the said *Katherine* was never lawfully married to the said Earl *Hartford*, but bare him those children as his Concubine, which (as they say) is defined and registred in the Archb. of *Canterburies* court, upon due examination taken by order of her Majesty that now reigneth, and this is in effect so much as I have heard them all alledge, about their affars.

It is much (quoth I) that you have said, if it may be all proved, Marry yet by the way, I cannot but smile to heare my Lord of *Leycester* allow of so many bastardies now upon the issue of Lady

Against Darby.

Against the child
of Hart
ford.

Scholar.

Frances, whom in time past, when *Jane* her eldest daughter was married to his brother, he advanced in legitimation before both the daughters of king *Henry* the eight. But to the purpose: I would gladly know what grounds of verity these allegations have, and how far in truth they may stoppe from inheritance: for in deed I never heard them so distinctly alledged before.

Leycesters dealing with the house of Suffolk.

Whereto answered the Gentleman, that our friend the Lawyer could best resolve that, if it pleased him to speake without his fee: though in some points alledged every other man (quoth he) that knoweth the state and common government of England, may easily give his judgement also. And in the case of bastardy, if the matter may be proved, there is no difficulty, but that no right to inheritance can justly bee pretended: as also (perhaps) in the case of forraine birth, though in this I am not so cunning: but yet I see by experience, that forrainers borne in other lands, can hardly come and claime inheritance in England, albeit, to the contrary, I have heard great and long disputes, but such as indeed passed my capacity. And if it might please our friend here present to expound the thing unto us more clearly, I for my part would gladly bestow the hearing, and that with attention.

Gentleman.

Bastardy.

Forraine birth.

To this answered the Lawyer, I will gladly, fir, tell you my minde in any thing that it shall please you demand: and much more in this matter, wherein by occasion of often conference I am somewhat perfect. The impediments which these men alledge against the succession of king *Henry* the 8. his sisters, are of two kinds, as you see: The one knowne and allowed in our law, as you have well said, if it may be proved; and that is bastardy: whereby they seek to disable all the whole Line

Lawyer.

Bastardies lawfull stop.

and race of *Suffolke*: as also *Arbella* of the second and later house of Scotland. Whereof it is to small purpose to speak any thing here: seeing the whole controversie standeth upon a matter of fact onely to be proved or improved by records and witnesses. Onely this I will say, that some of these *barbaries*, before named, are rise in many mens mouths, and avowed by divers that yet live: but let other men looke to this, who have most interest therein, and may be most damnified by them, if they fall out true. The other impediments, which are alledged onely against the *Queene of Scots* and her son, are in number three, as you recite them: that is *forraine birth*, *king Henries testament*, and *Religion*: whereof I am content to say somewhat, seeing you desire it: albeit there be so much published already in bookes of divers languages beyond the sea, as I am informed, concerning this matter, as more cannot be said. But yet so much as I have heard passe among *Lawyers* my betters, in conference of these affaires: I will not let to recite unto you, with this proviso and protestation alwayes, that what I speake, I speak by way of recitall of other mens opinions: not meaning my selfe to incurre the statute of affirming or avowing any persons title to the crown whatsoever.

The impediments against Scotland three in number.

A protestation.

Touching the first impediment of forraine birth.

First then touching *forraine birth*, there bee some men in the world that will say, that it is a common and generall rule of our law, that no stranger at all may inherit any thing by any means within the Land: which in truth I take to be spoken without ground, in that generall sense. For I could never yet come to the sight of any such common or univerrall rule: and I know, that divers examples may be alledged in sundry cases to the contrary: and by that which is expressly set
down

downe in the seventh and ninth years of king Ed. the 4. and in the eleventh and fourteenth of Hen. the 4. it appeareth plainly that a stranger may purchase lands in England, as also inherit by his wife, if he marry an inheritrix. Wherefore this common rule is to bee restrained from that generality, unto proper inheritance only; in which sense I do easily grant, that our common Law hath been of ancient, and is at this day, that no person born out of the allegiance of the king of England whose father & mother were not of the same allegiance at the time of his birth shall be able to have or demand any heritage within the same allegiance, as heire to any person. And this rule of our common Law is gathered in these self same words of a statute made in the 25. year of king Ed. the third, which indeed is the onely place of effect, that can be alledged out of our law against the inheritance of strangers in such sense and cases as we are now to treat of.

An Alien may purchase.

The true Maxima against Aliens.

The statute of King Edward whence the Maxima is gathered.

And albeit now the common Law of our Country do runne thus in generall, yet will the friends of the Scottish claime affirme, that hereby that title is nothing let or hindred at all towards the Crowne; and that for divers manifest and weighty reasons, whereof the principall are these which ensue.

Reasons why the Scottish title is not letted by the Maxima against Aliens.

First, it is common and a generall rule of our English lawes, that no rule, Axtome or Maxima of law (be it never so generall) can touch or bind the Crowne, except expresse mention bee made thereof in the same; for that the king and crowne have great priviledge and prerogative above the state and affaires of subjects, and great differences allowed in points of law.

The first reason.

As for example, it is a generall & common rule of law, that the wife after the decease of her husband,

The rule of thirds.

Tenant by cour-
tesie.

band, shall enjoy the third of his lands: but yet the Queene shall not enjoy the third part of the Crowne, after the Kings death: as well appeareth by experience, and is to be seene by law, *Anno 5. and 21. of Edward the third; and Anno 9. and 28. of Henry the sixt* Also it is a common rule, that the husband shall hold his wives lands after her death, as tenant by courtesie during his life, but yet it holdeth not in a Kingdome.

Division among
daughters.

In like manner, it is a generall and common rule, that if a man dye seised of Land in Fee-simple, having daughters and no sonne, his lands shall be divided by equall portions among his daughters, which holdeth not in the Crowne: but rather the eldest Daughter inheriteth the whole, as if she were the issue male. So also it is a common rule of our law, that the executor shall have all the goods and chattels of the Testator, but not in the Crowne. And so in many other cases which might bee recited, it is evident that the Crowne hath priviledge above others, and cannot be subject to rule, be it never so generall, except expresse mention be made thereof in the same law: as it is in the former place and a statute alledged: but rather to the contrary (as after shall be shewed) there is expresse exception, for the prerogative of such as descend of Royall blood.

Executors.

The 3 reason.
The Crowne no
such inheritance
as is meant in the
statute.

Their second reason is, for that the demand or title of a Crowne cannot in true sense bee comprehended under the words of the former statute, forbidding aliens to demand heritage within the allegiance of England: and that for two respects. The one, for that the Crowne it selfe cannot be called an heritage of allegiance, or within allegiance, for that it is holden of no superiour upon earth, but immediately from God himselfe:

the

the second, for that this statute treateth onely and meaneth of inheritance by descent, as heyre to the same, (for I have shewed before that Aliens may hold lands by purchase within our Dominion) and then say they, the Crowne is a thing incorporate, and descendeth not according to the common course of other private inheritances: but goeth by succession, as other incorporations doe. In signe whereof it is evident, that albeit the King be more favoured in all his doings, then any common person shall be, yet cannot hee avoyd by law his grants and letters patents by reason of his nonage (as other infants and common heires under age may doe) but alwayes be said to be of full age in respect of his Crowne: even as a Prior, Parson, Vicar, Deane, or other person incorporate shall be; which cannot by any meanes in law bee said to be within age, in respect of their incorporations.

The Crowne a Corporation.

Which thing maketh an evident difference in our case, from the meaning of the former statute: for that a Prior, Deane, or Parson, being Aliens and no Denizens, might alwayes in time of peace demand lands in England, in respect of their corporations, notwithstanding the said statute or common law against Aliens, as appeareth by many booke cases yet extant: as also by the statute made in the time of King *Richard* the second, which was after the foresaid statute of King *Edward* the third.

The third reason is, for that in the former statute is selfe of King *Edward*, there are excepted expressly from this generall rule, *Infantes du Roy*, that is, the Kings off spring or issue, as the word *Infant* doth signifie, both in France, Portugall, Spaine, and other Countries: and as the Latine word *Liberi* (which answereth the same) is taken

The 2. reason.
The Kings issue
excepted by
name.

com-

Libertorum, F. de
verb. sign.

commonly in the civill law. Neither may we re-
fraine the french words of that Statute *Infantes du*
Roy, to the kings children onely of the first degree
(as some doe, for that the barrenesse of our lan-
guage doth yeeld us no other word for the same)
but rather, that therby are understood, as well the
nephewes and other discendants of the king or
blood Royall, as his immediate children. For it
were both unreasonable and ridiculous to imagin
that king *Edward* by this statute, would go about
to disinherite his own nephews, if he should have
any borne out of his own allegiance (as easily he
might at that time) his sons being much abroad
from England; and the black Prince, his eldest
son having two children borne beyond the seas;
and consequently, it is apparent, that this rule or
maxime set down against Aliens is no way to be
stretched against the discendants of the king or
of the blood Royall.

The fourth reason
The Kings mea-
ning.

Their fourth reason is, that the meaning of king
Edward and his children (living at such time as
this statute was made) could not be, that any of
their linage or issue might be excluded in law,
from inheritance of their right to the Crowne, by
their foraine birth wheresoever. For otherwise, it
is not credible that they would so much have dis-
persed their own blood in other Countries, as they
did, by giving their daughters to strangers, & other
meanes: as *Leonel* the kings third son was married
in Millan, and *Iohn* of Gaunt the fourth son, gave
his two daughters, *Philip* and *Katherine* to Portu-
gall and Castile; and his neece *Juan* to the king
of Scots: as *Thomas* of Woodstocke also the yon-
gest brother, married his two daughters, the one
to the king of Spaine, and the other to Duke of
Britaine. Which no doubt (they being wise Prin-
ces, and so neer of the blood Royall) would never
have

The matches of
England with
foreigners.

have done; if they had imagined that hereby their issue should have lost all claime and title to the Crown of England: and therefore it is most evident, that no such bar was then extant or imagin'd

The first reason is, that divers persons borne out of all English dominion and allegiance, both before the Conquest and since, have bin admitted to the succession of our Crown, as lawfull inheritours, without any exception against them for their foraine birth. As before the Conquest is evident in yong *Edgar Etbeling* borne in Hungarie, and thence called home to inherit the Crowne, by his great unckle king *Edward* the Confessor, with full consent of the whole Realm; the B. of Worcester being sent as Ambassador to fetch him home, with his father named *Edward* the out-law.

The first reason.
Examples of
forainers admitted

Flores hist. Anno
1066.

And since the Conquest, it appeareth plainly in king *Stephen* and king *Henry* the second, both of them borne out of English dominions, and of Parents, that at their birth, were not of the English allegiance; and yet were they both admitted to the Crowne. Yong *Arthur* also Duke of Britain by his mother *Constance* that matched with *Geffray* king *Henry* the seconds sonne, was declared by king *Richard* his unckle, at his departure towards Jerusalem, and by the whole Realme, for lawfull heire apparent to the Crowne of England, though he were borne in Britaine out of English allegiance; and so he was taken and judged by all the world at that day: albeit, after king *Richards* death, his other unckle *John*, most tyrannously took both his kingdome and his life from him. For which notable injustice, he was detested of all men both abroad and at home; & most apparently scourged by God, with grievous and manifold plagues, both upon himself and the Realm, which yeelded to his usurpation. So that by this also it appeareth,

Pol. lib. 15. Flor.
hist. 1208.

K. John a tyrant

peareth, what the practice of our Countrey hath beene from time to time in this case of forraine birth: which practice is the best interpreter of our common English law: which dependeth especially, and most of all, upon custome: nor can the adversary alledge any one example to the contrary.

The 6. reason.
The judgement
and sentence of
K. Henry the
seventh.

Their sixth, is of the judgement and sentence of King *Henry* the seventh, and of his Councell: who being together in consultation, at a certaine time about the marriage of *Margaret* his eldest daughter into *Scotland*: some of his Councell moved this doubt, what should ensue, if by chance the kings issue male should faile, and so the succession devolve to the heyres of the said *Margaret*, as now it doth? Whereunto that wise and most prudent Prince made answer: that if any such event should be, it could not be prejudiciall to England, being the bigger part, but rather beneficiall: for that it should draw *Scotland* to England: that is, the lesser to the more: even as in times past it happened in *Normandy*, *Aquitaine*, and some other Provinces. Which answer appeased all doubts and gave singular content to those of his Councell, as *Polidore* writeth, that lived at that time, and wrote the speciall matters of that reigne, by the kings owne instruction. So that hereby wee see no question made of king *Henry* or his Councellors touching forraine birth, to let the succession of Lady *Margarets* issue: which no doubt would never have beene omitted in that learned assembly, if any law at that time had beene esteemed or imagined to beare the same.

And these are six of their principallest reasons to prove, that neither by the words nor meaning of our common lawes, nor yet by custome or practice of our Realme, an Alien may bee debarred from claim of his interest to the Crowne, when
it

it falleth to him by rightfull descent in blood and succession. But in the particular case of the Queen of Scots and her son, they doe adde another reason or two: thereby to prove them in very deed to be no Aliens: Not only in respect of their often and continuall mixture with English blood from the beginning (and especially of late, the Queens Grandmother and husband being English, and so her sonne begotten of an English father) but also for two other causes and reasons, which seeme in truth of very good importance. The first is, for that Scotland by all Englishmen (howsoever the Scots deny the same) is taken and holden as subject to England by way of Homage; which many of their kings at divers times have acknowledged: and consequently the Queene and her son being borne in Scotland are not borne out of the allegiance of England, and so no forainers. The second cause or reason is, for that the forenamed statute of forainers in the 25. yeare of King Edward the third, is intituled, *of those that are borne beyond the seas*. And in the body of the said statute, the doubt is moved of children borne out of English allegiance beyond the seas: whereby cannot bee understood Scotland, for that it is a piece of the continent land within the seas. And all our old Records in England, that talke of service to bee done within these two countries, have usually these Latin words, *Infra quatuor maria*, or in French *dans les quatre mers*, that is, within the foure Seas; whereby must needs be understood as well Scotland as England, and that perhaps for the reason before mentioned, of the subjection of Scotland by way of Homage to the Crowne of England. In respect whereof it may be, that it was accounted of old but one dominion or allegiance. And consequently, no man borne therein can bee accounted

The 7. reason.
The Queene of
Scots and her
son no Aliens.

counted an alieato England. And this shal suffice for the first point, touching foragine Nativity.

For the second impediment objected, which is the testament of King *Henry* the eight, authorized by Parliament, wherby they affirm the succession of Scotland to be excluded: it is not precisely true that they are excluded, but onely that they are put back behinde the succession of the house of *Suffolk*. For in that pretended Testament (which after shall be proved to be none indeed) King *Henry* do disposeth, that after his own children (if they should chance to dye without issue) the Crowne shall passe to the heires of *Frances* & of *Elenor*, his neeces by his yonger sister *Mary* Queene of France; and after them (deceasing also without issue) the succession to returne to the next heire againe. Wherby it is evident, that the succession of *Margaret* Queene of Scotland, his eldest siter, is not excluded; but thrust back onely from their due place and order, to expect the remainder, which may in time be left by the yonger. Whereof in mine opinion, doe ensue some considerations against the present pretenders themselves.

First, that in King *Henrics* judgement, the former pretended rule of foraine birth, was no sufficient impediment against Scotland; for if it had bin, no doubt but that he would have named the same in his alleaged testament, and thereby have utterly excluded that successiō. But there is no such thing in the testament. Secondly, if they admit this testament, which alloteth the Crown to Scotland, next after *Suffolk*; then, seeing that all the house of *Suffolk* (by these mens assertions) is excluded by bastardy; it must needs follow, that Scotland by their own judgement is next, & so this testament wil make against them, as indeed it doth in all points most apparantly, but only that it pre-ferreth

The second impediment against the Q. of Scots, & her son, which is K. Henry the 8. his testament.

Foraine birth no impediment in the judgement of K. Henry the 8.

The succession of Scotland next by the judgement of the competitors.

ferreth the house of Suffolk, before that of Scotland. And therefore (I think sir) that you mistake somewhat about their opinion in alleaging this testament. For I suppose, that no man of my Lord of *Huntingtons* faction, will alleage or urge the testimony of this testament; but rather some friend of the house of *Suffolk*, in whose favour, I take it, that it was first of all forged.

It may be (quoth the Gentleman) nor will I *Gentleman.*
stand obstinately in the contrary; for that it is hard sometime to judge of what faction each one is, who discourseth of these affaires. But yet I marvel (if it were as you say) why *Leycesters* Father after *K. Edwards* death, made no mention therof in the favor of *Suffolk*, in the other testament which then he proclaimed, as made by *K. Edward* deceased, for preferment of *Suffolk* before his own sisters.

The cause of this is evident (quoth the Lawyer) *Lawyer.*
for that it made not sufficiently for his purpose: The Duke of
which was to disinherite the two daughters of King *Northumber-*
Henry himselfe, and advance the house of *Suffolk* *lands drist.*
before them both.

A notable change (quoth the Gentleman) that *Gentleman.*
a title so much exalted of late by the Father, above all order, right, ranke and degree; should now be so much debased by the Son, as though it were not worthy to hold any degree, but rather to be troden under-foot for plain bastardy. And you see by this, how true it is which I told you before; that the race of *Dudleys* are most cunning merchants, to make their gaine of all things, men and times. And as we have seene now two testaments alleaged, the one of the Kings father, and the other of the kings sonne, and both of them in prejudice of the testators true successors: so many good subjects begin greatly to feare, that we may chance

The mutable
dealing of the
house of *Dudley.*

to see shortly a third bequestment of her Majesty for the tituling of *Huntington*, and extirpation of King *Henries* blood, & that before her Majesty can think of sicknesse: wherein I beseech the Lord I be no Prophet. But now, fir, to the fore said Will and Testament of King *Henry*, I have often heard in truth, that the thing was counterfeit, or at the least not able to be proved: and that it was discovered, rejected, and defaced in Queen *Maries* time: but I would gladly understand what you Lawyers esteeme or judge thereof.

Lawyer.

The authority
and occasion of
King *Henries*
testament.

Touching this matter (quoth the Lawyer) it cannot be denied, but that in the 28. and 36 years of King *Henries* reign, upon consideration of some doubt and irresolution, which the King himselfe had shewed, to have about the order of succession in his owne children, as also for taking away all occasions of controversies in those of the next blood; the whole Parliament gave authority unto the said King, to debate and determine those matters himselfe, together with his learned counsell, who best knew the lawes of the Realme, and titles that any man might have thereby: and that whatsoever succession his Majesty should declare as most right and lawfull under his letters patents sealed, or by his last Will and Testament rightfully made and signed with his owne hand: that the same should bee received for good and lawfull. Upon pretence whereof, soon after King *Henries* death, there was shewed a Will with the kings stamp at the same, and the names of divers witnesses, wherein (as hath beene said) the succession of the Crowne, after the kings owne children, is assigned to the heyres of *Frances* and *Elenore*, Necess to the king, by his younger Sister. Which assignation of the Crown, being as it were a meere gift in prejudice
of

of the elder sisters right (as also of the right of *Frances* and *Eleanor* themselves who were omitted in the same assignation, and their heires intituled onely) was esteemed to be against all reason, law, and nature, and consequently not thought to proceed from so wise and sage a Prince as *K. Henrie* was knowne to be: but rather, either the whole forged, or at least wise that clause inserted by other, and the Kings stamp set unto it, after his death, or when his Majesty lay now past understanding. And hereof there wanteth not divers most evident reasons and proofes.

The Kings Testament forged.

For first, it is not probable nor credible, that King *Henrie* would ever go about, against law and reason, to disinherite the line of his eldest sister, without any profit or interest to himselfe: and thereby, give most evident occasion of Civill war and discord within the Realm, seeing, that in such a case of manifest and apparent wrong, in so great a matter, the authoritie of Parliament, taketh little effect, against the true and lawfull inheritor: as well appeared in the former times and contentions of *Henrie* the sixth, *Edward* the fourth, and *Richard* the third: in whose reignes, the divers and contrarie Parliaments made and holden, against the next inheritor, held no longer with any man, then untill the other was able to make his owne partie good.

The first reason.

Injustice and improbability

So likewise, in the case of King *Edward* the third his succession to *France*, in the right of his mother, though he were excluded by the generall assembly and consent of their Parliaments; yet he esteemed not his right extinguished thereby: as neither did other Kings of our Countrey that ensued after him. And for our present case, if nothing else should have restrained King *Henrie*,

The example of France.

from such open injustice towards his eldest sister : yet this cogitation, at least, would have stayed him : that by giving example of supplanting his elder sisters Line, by vertue of a testament or pretence of Parliament ; some other might take occasion to displace his children by like pretence : as we see that Duke *Dudley* did soone after by a forged testament of King *Edward* the sixt. So ready Schollars there are to be found, which easily will learne such lessons of iniquity.

The second reason. Incongruities and indignities.

Secondly, there be too many incongruities and indignities in the said pretended Will to proceed from such a Prince and learned councill as King *Henries* was. For first, what can be more ridiculous, than to give the Crowne to the heires of *Francis* and *Elenor*, and not to any of themselves? or what had they offended that their heires should enjoy the Crowne in their right, and not they themselves? What if King *Henries* Children should have dyed, whiles Lady *Francis* had been yet alive? who should have possessed the Kingdome before her, seeing her Line was next? and yet by this testament shee could not pretend her selfe to obtaine it. But rather having married *Adrian Stokes* her horse-keeper, she must have suffered her sonne by him (if she had any) to enjoy the Crown : and so *Adrian* of a Serving man and Master of Horses, should have become the great Master and Protector of *England*. Of like absurditie is that other clause also, wherein the King bindeth his owne daughters to marry by consent and direction of his counsell, or otherwise to leese the benefit of their succession : yet bindeth not his Neices daughters, to wit, the daughters of *Francis* & *Elenor* (if they had any) to any such condition.

Adrian Stokes.

Thirdly, there may bee divers causes and arguments

guments alledged in law, why this pretended will is not authentickall : if otherwise, it were certaine that King *Henrie* had meant it : first, for that it is not agreeable to the mind and meaning of the Parliament, which intended onely to give authority for declaration and explication of the true title : and not for donation, or intricating of the same, to the ruine of the Realme. Secondly, for that there is no lawfull and authentickall Copie extant thereof, but onely a bare inrolement in the Chancerie, which is not sufficient in so weighty an affaire : no witnessse of the privie Councell or of Nobilitie to the same : which had been convenient in so great a case (for the best of the witnessses therein named, is Sir *John Gates*, whose miserable death is well knowne :) no publike Notary, no probation of the will before any Bishop, or any lawfull Court for that purpose : no examination of the witnessses, or other thing orderly done, for lawfull authorizing of the matter.

But of all other things this is most of importance: that the King never set his owne hand to the foresaid Will, but his stampe was put thereunto by others, either after his death, or when he was past remembrance: as the late Lord *Paget* in the beginning of Queen *Maries* dayes, being of the Privie Councell, first of all other discovered the same of his owne accord, and upon meere motion of conscience, confessing before the whole Councell, and afterward also before the whole Parliament, how that himselfe was privy thereunto, and partly also culpable, (being drawn thereunto, by the instigation and forcible authority of others :) but yet afterward upon other more godly motions detested the device : and so of his owne free-will, vety honourably went and offered the

The third reason.

The supposed Will is not authentickall.

The disproving of the Will by witnessses. The Lord Paget.

sir Edw. Montague discoverie thereof to the Councell. As also did *Sir Edward Montague*, Lord chiefe Iustice that had been privy and present at the said doings, and one *William Clarke*, that was the man who put the stampe unto the paper, and is ascribed among the other pretended witnesses, confessed the whole premises to be true, and purchased his pardon for his offence therein. Whereupon Queen *Marie* and her Councell, caused presently the said Inrolment, lying in the Chancerie to be cancelled, defaced and abolished.

And sithence that time in her Majesties dayes that now liveth, about the 11. or 12. yeare of her reigne, (if I count not amisse) by occasion of a certaine little booke spread abroad at that time very secretly, for advancing of the house of *Sussex*, by pretence of this Testament: I remember well the place where the late Duke of *Northfolke*, the Marquesse of *Winchester* (which then was Treasurer) the old Earles of *Arundell* and *Penbrooke* that now are dead, with my Lord of *Penbrooke* that yet liveth, (as also my Lord of *Leycester* himselfe, if I bee not deceived) with divers others, met together upon this matter: and after long conference about the foresaid pretended will, and many proofes and reasons laid downe, why it could not be true or authentickall: the old Earle of *Penbrooke* protesting that he was with the King in his chamber from the first day of his sicknesse unto his last houre, and thereby could well assure the falsification thereof: at length it was moved, that from that place they should goe, with the rest of the Nobility, and proclaime the Queen of *Scotland* heire apparent in *Cheapside*. Wherein my Lord of *Leycester* (as I take it was then as for-gaine play-ward as any man else: how bee it, now for his profit

A meeting together about this matter of the Nobility.

M. Lord of Scotland

Leicest. a-gaine play-ward double.

profit, he be turned aside, and would turne back again to morrow next for a greater commodity.

And albeit, for some causes to themselves best known, they proceeded not in the open publishing of their determination at that time: yet my Lord of *Penbrook* now living can beare witnesse that thus much is true: and that his father, the old Barle, at that time told him openly before the other Noblemen, that he had brought him to that assembly and place to instruct him in that truth, and to charge him to witnesse the same, and to defend it also with his sword (if need required) after his death. And I know that his Lordship is of that honour and Nobility, as he cannot leave off easily the remembrance or due regard of so worthy an admonition. And this shall suffice for the second impediment, imagined to proceed of this supposed Testament of King *Henrie* the eighth.

The old Earle of Penbrocks admonition to the Earl his son, yet living.

As for the third impediment, of religion, it is not generall to all: for that only one person (if I be not deceived) of all the Competitors in *K. Henries* Line can bee touched with suspicion of different Religion, from the present state of *England*. Which person notwithstanding (as is well knowne) while shee was in government in her owne Realme of *Scotland*, permitted all liberty of Conscience, and free exercise of Religion to those of the contrary profession and opinion, without restraint. And if she had not, yet doe I not see, either by prescript of law, or practise of these our times, that diversity of Religion, may stay just Inheritors from enjoying their due possessions, in any state or degree of private men: and much lesse in the claime of a Kingdome: which alwayes in this behalfe as hath been said before) is preferred in priviledge.

The third impediment of religion.

Princes of Germany. This we see by experience, in divers Countries and parts of the world at this day: as in *Germany*, where among so many Princes, and so divided in religion as they be: yet every one proceedeth to the state whereto he hath right, without resistance for his religion. The examples also of her Majesty that now is, and of her sister before, is evident, who being known to be of two different inclinations in religion, and the whole Realme divided in opinion for the same cause: yet both of them at their severall times with generall consent of all, were admitted to their lawfull inheritance: excepting onely a few * traitors against the former, who withstood her right, as also in her the right of her Maestie that is present, and that not for Religion, (as appeared by their owne confession after) but for ambition and desire of regne, Monsieur, the Kings brother and heire of *France*, as all the world knoweth, is well accepted, favoured, and admitted for successor of that Crowne, by all the Protestants at this day of that Country, notwithstanding his opinion in religion knowne to be different. And I doubt not, but the King of *Navarre* or Prince of *Condy*, in the contrary part would thinke themselves greatly injured by the state of *France*, which is different from them in religion at this day, if after the death of the King that now is, and his brother without issue, (if God so dispose) they should be barred from inheriting the Crowne, under pretence onely of their Religion. My Lord of *Huntington* himselfe also, is he not knowne to be of a different religion from the present state of *England*? and what, if he were King to morrow next, he would alter the whole government, order, conduion, and state of religion, now used and established within the Realme? But

Qua. Mary Queen Elizabeth.

* *The Duke of Monseur.*

King of Navarre Prince of Condy.

My Lord of Huntingtons religion.

But as I said in the beginning, if one of a whole family, or of divers families be culpable, or to be touched herein; what have the rest offended thereby? will you exclude all, for the mislike of one? And to descend in order; if the first in K. Henries line, after her Majesty may be touched in this point, yet why should the rest be damnified thereby? The K of Scotland her son, that next ensueth (to speak in equity) why should he be shut out for his religion? And are not all the other in like manner Protestants, whose discent is consequent by nature, order, and degree.

The title of those that ensue the Queene of Scots.

For the yong K. of Scotland (quoth I) the truth is, that alwayes for mine own part, I have had great hope and expectation of him, not onely for the concept which commonly men have of such Orient youths, borne to kingdomes; but especially for that I understood from time to time, that his education was in all learning, princely exercises, and instruction of true religion, under rare and vertuous men for that purpose. Whereby I conceived hope, that he might not onely become in time an honourable and profitable neighbour unto us, for assurance of the Gospell in these parts of the world; but also (if God should deprive us of her Maiesty without issue) might be a meane by his succession to unite in Concord and Government the two Realmes together, which heretofore hath beene sought by the price of many a thousand mens bloud, and not obtained.

Schollar.
The yong King of Scotland

Marry yet now of late (I know not by what means) there is begun in mens hearts a certaine mislike or grudge against him, for that it is given out every where that he is inclined to be a Papist, and an enemy to her Majesties proceedings, which argueth him verily of singular ingratitude

if it be true, considering the great helpees and protection which he hath received from her Highnes ever sithens he was borne.

Gentl,

And are you so simple (quoth the Gentleman) as to beleve everie report that you heare of this matter? know you not, that it is expedient for my Lord of *Leycester* and his faction, that this youth, above all other, bee held in perpetuall disgrace with her Majesty, and with this Realme? You know, that *Richard of Gloucester* had never

*The device
to set out
her Maje-
sty with
the young
King of
Scotland.*

been able to have usurped as he did, if hee had not first perswaded *K. Edward* the fourth, to hate his owne brother the Duke of *Clarence*, which Duke stood in the way between *Richard* and the thing, which he most of all things covered; that is, the possibilitie to the Crowne, and so in this case is there the like device to be observed.

For truly, for the yong King of *Scotland*s religion, it is evident to as many as have reason, that it can bee no other of it selfe but inclined to the best; both in respect of his education, instruction, and conversation with those of true religion: as also by his former actions, Edicts, Government, and private behaviour he hath declared. Marrie these men whose profit is nothing lesse, than that he or any other of that race should doe well: doe not cease dayly by all secret wayes, drifts, and molestations possible, to drive him either to dislike of our religion, or else to incurre the suspition thereof, with such of our Realme, as otherwise would be his best friends: or if not this, yet for very need and feare of his owne life, to make recourse to such other Princes abroad, as may most offend or dislike this state.

And for this cause, they suborne certaine busie fellowes of their owne crew and faction, per-
taining

aining to the ministerie of *Scotland*, (but unworthy of so worthy a calling) to use such intolencie towards their King and Prince, as is not onely undecent, but intolerable. For he may doe nothing, but they will examine and discusse the same in Pulpit. If hee goe but on hunting, when it pleaseth them to call him to their preaching: if he make but a dinner or supper, when, or where, or with whom they like not: if he receive but a couple of horses, or other present from his friends or kinsmen beyond the seas: if hee salute or use courteously any man, or messenger which cometh from them (as you know Princes of their nobility and courtesie are accustomed, though they come from their enemies, as very often hath beene seene, and highly commended in her Majestie of *England*:) If hee deale familiarly with any Ambassador which liketh not them: or finally, if hee doe say or signifie any one thing whatsoever that pleaseth not their humour, they wil presently as seditious Tribunes of the people, exclaime in publicke, and stepping to the Pulpit where the Word of the Lord onely ought to be preached, will excite the Communalty to discontentation, inveying against their Sovereigne with such bitternes of speech, unreverend tearmes, and insolent controlements, as is not to be spoken: Now imagine what her Majesty and her grave councill would do in *England*, if such proceedings should be used by the Clergy against them.

No doubt (quoth I) but that such unquiet spirits should be punished in our Realme. And so I said of late to their most reverend and worthy Prelate and Primate the Arch-bishop of *St. Andrews*, with whom it was my luck to come acquainted in *London*, whither he was come by his Kings ap-
 Schollar.
 Sir Patrick
 Adamson
 Archbish.
 of *St. An-*
 poyntment drewes.

pointment (as he said) to treat certain affairs with our Q. and Councell. And talking with him of this disorder of his ministerie, he confessed the same with much griefe of mind, and told me, that he had preached thereof before the K. himselfe, detesting and accusing divers heads thereof, for which cause he was become very odious to them and other of their faction, both in *Scotland* and *England*. But he said, that as he had given the reasons of his doings unto our Qu. lo meane-
 neth he shortly to do the same unto *Monsieur Beza*, and to the whole Church of *Geneva*, by sending thither the Articles of his and their doings, protesting unto me that the proceedings and attempts of those factious and corrupt men was most scandalous, seditious and perilous both to the K. person, and to the realm; being sufficient indeed, to alienate wholly the yong Prince from all affection to our religion, when he shall see the chiefe Professors thereof to behave themselves so undutifully towards him.

Gentl.
Treasons
plotted a-
gainst the
King of
Scots.

That is the thing which these men, his competitors, most desire (quoth the Gentleman) hoping thereby to procure him most evill will and danger, both at home and from *England*. For which cause also, they have practised so many plots and treacheries with his owne subjects against him; hoping by that meanes to bring the one in distrust and hatred of the other, and consequently the K. in danger of destruction by his own. And in this machination, they have behaved themselves so dexterously, so covertly used the man-
 nage and contriving hereof, and so cunningly conveyed the execution of many things: as it might, indeed, seeme apparent to the yong K. that the whole plot of treasons against his Realme,
 and

and Person, doth come from *England*, thereby to drive him into jealousie of our state, and out state of him: and all this for their owne profit.

Neither is this any new device of my Lord of *Leicest* to draw men for his own gain into danger and hatred with the state, under other pretences. For I could tell you divers stories and stratagems of his cunning in this kind, and the one farre different from the other in device: but yet all to one end. *I have a friend yet living, that was towards the old Earle of Arundel in good credit, and by that means had occasion to deal with the late Duke of Norfolk in his chiefest affaires before his troubles. This man is wont to report strange things from the Dukes owne mouth, of my L. of Leicesters most treacherous dealing towards him, for gaining of his bloud, as after appeared, albeit the Duke when he reported the same, mistrusted not so much my Lords malice therein. But the sum of all, is this in effect: that Leicester having a secret desire to pull down the said Duke, to the end that he might have no man above himselfe, to hinder him in that which he most desireth, by a thousand cunning devices drew in the Duke to the cogitation of that marriage with the Queen of Scotland, which afterward was the cause or occasion of his ruine. And hee behaved himselfe so dexterously in this drift, by setting on the Duke on the one side, and also by intrapping him on the other: as Iudas himselfe never plaid his part more cunningly when hee supped with his Master, and set himself so neer, as he dipp't his spoon in the same dish, & durst before others, aske who should betray him? meaning that night to doe it himselfe, as he shewed soon after supper, when he came as a Captaine with*

Leicesters cunning device for overthrowing the D. of Norf.

The impudency of Iudas.

with a band of Conspirators, and with a courteous kiss: delivered his person into the hands of them, whom hee well knew to thirst after his blood.

The very like did the Earle of *Leycester* wish the Duke of *Norfolk* for the act of treason, though in the parties betrayed there were great difference of innocency. Namely, at one time, when her Majesty was at *Basing* in *Hampshire*, and the Duke attended there to have audience, with great indifferency in himselfe to follow, or leave off his suit for marriage: (for that now he began to suspect, her Majesty liked not greatly thereof:) my Lord of *Leycester* came to him and counselled him in any case to persevere, and not to relent, assuring him with many oathes and protestations, that her Majesty must and should be brought to allow thereof, whether she would or no, and that himselfe would seale that purpose with his blood. Neither was it to be suffered that her Majesty should have her will herein; with many other like speeches to this purpose: which the Duke repeated againe then presently to my said friend: with often laying his hand upon his bosome and saying; I have here which assureth me sufficiently of the fidelity of my Lord of *Leycester*; meaning not onely the foresaid speeches, but also divers letters which he had written to the Duke of that effect, as likewise he had done to some other person of more importance in the Realme; which matter coming afterward to light, he confessed most notably her Majesty, by shewing her a reformed copie of the said Letter, for the Letter it selfe.

But now how well he performed his promise, in dealing with her Majesty for the Duke or against the

The speeches of Leycester to the Duke of Norf.

Leycest. confenoge of the Queene.

the Duke in this matter, her Highnesse can best tell, and the event it selfe shewed. For the Duke being admitted soon after to her Majesties speech at another place, and receiving a farre other answer than he had in hope conceived upon *Leycesters* promises, retyred himselfe to London, where the same night following hee received Letters both from *Leycester*, and *Sir Nicholas Throgmorton*, upon *Leycesters* instigation (for they were at that time both friends and of a faction) that he should presently flye into *Norfolk*, as he did, which was the last and finall complement of all *Lycesters* former devices, whereby to plunge his friend over the eares in suspition and disgrace, in such sort as he should never be able to draw himselfe out of the ditch againe, as indeed he was not, but dyed in the same.

The Duke of Norf. flyi g into Norfolk

And herein you see also the same subtile and Machivilian slight, which I mentioned before, of driving men to attempt somewhat, whereby they may incurre danger, or remaine in perpetuall suspition or disgrace. And this practice he hath long used, and doth dayly, against such as he hath will to destroy. As for example, what say you to the device he had of late, to intrap his well deserving friend, *Sir Christopher Hatton*, in the matter of *Hall* his Priest, vvhom hee would have had *Sir Christopher* to send away and hide, being touched and detected in the case of *Ardent*, thereby to have drawne in *Sir Christopher* himselfe, as *Sir Charles Candish* can well declare, if it please him, being aceessary to this plot, for the overthrow of *Sir Christopher*: To which intent, and most devilish drift, pertained (I doubt not) if the matter were duely examined, the late interception of letters in *Paris* from one *Aldred* of *Lyons*, then in

Machivilian slights

Leycesters devices for the overthrow of sir Christopher Hatton.

Rome,

Rome, to *Henr. Umpton*, servant to *Sir Christopher*, in which letters, *Sir Christopher* is reported to be of such credit and special favour in *Rome*, as if he were the greatest Papist in *England*

Leycesters
devices a-
gainst the
Earle of
Shrews-
bury.

What meaneth also these pernicious late dealings against the Earle of *Shrewsburie*, a man of the most ancient and worthiest Nobilitie of our Realm? what meane the practises with his nearest both in bed and bloud against him? what meane those most false and slanderous rumours cast abroad of late of his disloyall demeanours towards her Maiestie and his countrey, with the great prisoner committed to his charge? is all this to any other end, but onely to drive him to some impatience, and thereby to commit or say something which may open the gate unto his ruine? Divers other things could I recite of his behaviour towards other noble men of the Realm, who live abroad in their countries much injured and malecontented by his insolency: albeit in respect of his present power they dare not complaine. And surely, it is strange to see how little account he maketh of all the ancient nobilitie of our Realme: how he contemneth, derideth and debaseth them; which is the fashion of all such as mean to usurp, to the end they may have none who shall not acknowledge their first beginning and advancement from themselves.

Leycesters
contempt
of the an-
cient No-
bility of
England.

Lawyer.

Not only usurpers (*quoth the Lawyer*) but all others who rise and mount aloft from base lineage, be ordinarily most contemptuous, contumelious, and insolent against others of more antiquity. And this was evident in this mans father, who being a Buck of the first head (*as you know*) was intollerable in contempt of others: as appeareth by those whom hee trod downe of the

New men
most con-
temptuous

Nobili-

Nobilitie in his time : as also by his ordinarie jests against the Duke of *Somerset* and others. But among other times, sitting one day at his owne table (as a Counsellor told mee that was present) he took occasion to talke of the Earl of *Arundel*, whom he had then not onely removed from the Counsell, but also put into the Tower of *London*, being (as is wel known) the first and chiefest Earle of the Realme. And for that the said Earle shewed himselfe somewhat sad and afflicted with his present state (as I marvel not, seeing himself in prison, and within the compasse of so fierce a Beares paws) it pleased this goodly Duke to vaunt upon this Earles misery, at his owne Table (as I have said) and asked the noble men and gentlemen there present, what Crest or Cognizance my L. of *Arundel* did give? and when every one answered, that hee gave the white horse: I thought so (quoth the Duke) and not without great cause; for as the white Paulfrey when he standeth in the stable, and is well provendred, is proud and fierce, and ready to leape on every other horses back, still neying, and praucing, and troubling all that stand about him : but when he is once out of his hoc stable, and deprived a little of his ease and fat feeding, every boy may ride and master him at his pleasure: so is it (quoth he) with my Lord of *Arundell*. Whereat many marvelled that were present, to heare so insolent speech passe from a man of judgement, against a Peere of the Realme cast into calamity.

*D. Dudleyes
jest at the
Earle of
Arundell.*

But you would more have marvelled (quoth Gentle-
man) if you had scene that which I
did afterward, which was the most base and ab-
ject behaviour of the same Duke to the same
Earle

The oft
abieft be-
haviour of
Duke Dud-
ley in ad-
uerse fur-
tunes.

Earle of *Arundel* at *Cambridge*, and upon the way towards *London*: when this Earle was sent to apprehend and bring him up, as prisoner. If I should tell you how he fell down on his knees, how he wept, how he besought the said Earle to be a good Lord unto him, whom a little before he had so much contemned and reproached, you would have said that himselfe might as well be compared to this his white Paulfrey, as the other: Albeit in this I will excuse neither of them both, neither almost any of these great men who are so proud and insolent in their prosperous fortune, as they are easily led to contemne any man, albeit themselves bee most contemptible of all others, whensoever their fortune be-ginneth to change: and so will my L. of *Leicester* be, also no doubt at that day, though now in his wealth he triumph over all, and careth not whom, or how many he offend and injure.

Schollar.

Leycesters
base beha-
viour in ad-
uersitie.

Sir, therein I beleeeve you (quoth I) for wee have had sufficient tryall already of my Lords fortitude in aduersity. His base and abieft behaviour in his last disgrace about his marriage, well declared what hee would doe in a matter of more importance. His fawning and flatter- ring of them, whom he hated most: his servile speeches, his feigned and dissembled teares, are all very well knowne: Then Sir *Christopher Hatton* must needs be enforced to receive at his hands the honourable and great office of Chamberlainship of *Chester*, for that he would by any meanes reigne the same unto him, whether he would or no: and made him provide (not without his charge) to receive the same, though his Lordship never meant it, as after well appeared. For that the present pange being past.

Leycesters
receiuing
of Sir *Chri-
stopher
Hatton*.

it liked my Lord to fulfill the Italian Proverbe^s of such as in dangers make vowes to Saints : *Scampato il pericolo, gabbato il santo*, the danger escaped, the Saint is deceived.

Then, and in that necessity, no men of the Realm were so much honoured, commended, & served by him as the noble Chamberlaine deceased, and the good Lord Treasurer yet living: to whom, at a certaine time, he wrote a letter in all fraud and base dissimulation, and caused the same to be delivered with great cunning in the sight of her Majesty; and yet so, as to shew a purpose that it should not be seen: to the end, her Highnesse might rather take occasion to call for the same and read it, as she did. For *Mistris Francis Haward* (to whom the stratagem was committed) playing her part dexterously, offered to deliver the same to the Lord Treasurer, neare the doore of the withdrawing Chamber, he then comming from her Majesty: And to draw the eye and attention of her Highnesse the more unto i, shee let fall the paper, before it touched the treasurers hand, and by that occasion brought her Majesty to call for the same: Which after she had read and considered the stile, together with the metall and constitution of him that wrote it, and to whom it was lent, her Highnesse could not but breake forth in laughter, with detestation of such absurd and abject dissimulation: saying unto my Lord Treasurer there present: my Lord believe him not, for if he had you in like case, he would play the Beare with you, though at this present hee sawne upon you never so fast.

But now Sir, I pray you goe forward in your speech of *Scotland*, for there I remember you

L

left

*A pretie
shift of my
Lord of
Leycester.*

*Her Maie-
sties speech
of Leyce-
ster to the
Treasurer.*

left off, when by occasion we fell into these digressions.

Gentl.

Well then (quoth the Gentleman) to returne againe to *Scotland* (as you move) from whence wee have digressed; most certaine and evident it is to all the world, that all the broyles, troubles, and dangers procured to the Prince in that countrey, as also the vexations of them, who any way are thought to favour that title in our owne Realme, doe proceed from the drift and complot of these conspirators. Which besides the great dangers mentioned before, both domesticall and forraine, temporall, and of religion, must needs inferre great jeopardy also to her Maiesties person and present reign, that now governeth, through the hope and heat of the aspirers ambition, inflamed and increased so much the more by the nearenesse of their desired prey.

The danger of her Majesty by oppression of the favourers of the Scottish title.

A Similitude true.

For as souldiers entred into the hope of a rich and well furnished Citie, are more fierce and furious, when they have gotten and beaten downe the Bullwarks round about; and as the greedy Burglarer that hath pierced and broken downe man-walls to come to a treasure, is lesse patient of stay, stop, and delay, when he commeth in sight of that which he desireth, or perceiveth only some partition of wane skot or the like betwixt his fingers, and the cofers or monie bags: so these men when they shall see the succession of *Scotland* extinguished, together with all friends and favourers thereof, (which now are to her Majesty as Bullwarks and wals, and great obstacles to the aspirers) and when they shall see only her Maiesties life and person, to stand betwixt them and their fierie desires (for they will make

make little account of all other Competitors by King *Henries* line:) no doubt but it will bee to them a great prick and spurre to dispatch Her Majesty also: the nature of both Earles being well considered, whereof the one killed his own wife, (as hath been shewed before) onely upon a little vaine hope of marriage with a Queene, and the other being so farre blinded and borne away with the same furious fume, & most impotent itching humor of ambition, as his owne mother, when she was alive, seemed greatly to feare his fingers, if once the matter should come so neare, as her life had onely stood in his way. For which cause, the good old Countesse was wont to pray God (as I have heard divers say) that she might dye before her Majesty (which happily was granted unto her) to the end that by standing in her sonnes way (who she saw to her grief, furiously bent to weare a Crowne:) there might not some dangerous extremity grow to her by that neareness: And if his owne mother feared this mischance, whst may her Majesty doubt at his, & his companions hands, when she onely shall be the obstacle of all their unbridled and impatient desires?

Clearer it is (quoth the Lawyer) that the neareness of aspirors to the Crowne, endangereth greatly the present possessors, as you have well proved by reason, and I could shew by divers examples, if it were need. For when *Henric Bullingbrooke*, Duke of *Lancaster*, saw not onely *Richard the second* to be without issue, but also *Roger Mortimer*, Earle of *March*, that should have succeeded in the Crowne, to bee slaine in *Ireland*: though before (as is thought) he meant not to usurpe, yet seeing the possibility and

*Earle of
Leycester.*

*Earle of
Hunting-
ton.*

*The old
Countesse
of Hun-
tingtons
speech of
her sonne.*

*Lawyer.
Neareness
is a compe-
titors doth
incitethem
to adven-
ture.*

*Henr. Bul-
lingbrook
after King
H. the 4.*

Richard
Duke of
Gloucester
after King
Richard
the third.

neare cut that he had, was invited therewith to lay hands of his Sovereignes blond and dignity as he did. The like is thought of *Richard*, Duke of *Glocester*, that he never meant the murder of his nephewes, untill he saw their father dead, and themselves in his owne hands; his brother also Duke of *Clarence* dispatched, and his onely sonne and heire Earle of *Warwick* within his owne power.

The great
wisdom
of her Ma-
jesty in con-
servyng the
next heires
of Scot-
land.

Wherefore seeing that it hath not pleased Almighty God, for causes to himselfe best knowne, to leave unto this noble Realm, any issue by her most excellent Maiestie, it hath been a poynt of great wisdom in mine opinion, and of great safety to her Highnes person, state, & dignity, to preserve hitherto the line of the next Inheritors by the house of *Scotland*, (I meane both the mother and the sonne) whose deaths hath been so diligently sought by the other Competitors, and had beene long ere this atchieved, if her Majesties owne wisdom, and royall clemency (as is thought) had not placed speciall eye upon the conservation thereof, from time to time. Which Princely providence, so long as it shall endure, must needs be a great safety and fortress to her Majesty, not onely against the claimes, aides, or annoyance of forraine Princes, who wil not be so forward to advance strange titles, while so manifest heires remain at home, nor yet so willing (in respect of policy) to helpe that line to possession of the whole Island: but also against practices of domesticall aspirers (as you have shewed) in whose affairs no doubt but these two branches of *Scotland* are great bocks, & also speciall bulwarks to her Majesties life and person: seeing (as you say) these copartners make
so

so little account of the other of that line, who should ensue by order of succession.

Marry yet of the two, I thinke the youth of *Scotland* be of much more importance for their purpose, to bee made away, both for that hee may have issue, and is like in time to be of more ability, for defence of his owne inheritance: as also for that he being once dispatched, his mother should soone ensue by one flight or other, which they would devise unwitting to her Majesty: albeit, I must needes confesse that her Highnesse hath used most singular prudence for prevention thereof, in placing her restraint with so noble, strong, and worthy a Peere of our Realme, as the Earle of *Shrewsburie* is, whose fidelity and constancy being nothing plyable to the others faction, giveth them little contentation. And for that cause the world seeth how many sundry and divers devices they have used, and do use dayly to slander and disgrace him, and thereby to pull from him his charge committed.

To this the Gentleman answered nothing at all, but stood still musing with himselfe, as though hee had conceived some deep matter in his head: and after a little pause he began to say as followeth

I cannot truly but much marvelle, when I do compare some things of this time and government, with the doings of former Princes, Progenitors to her Majesty. Namely of *Henrie the 7.* and *Henrie the 8.* who had so vigilant an eye to the laterall line of *King Edward the 4.* by his brother of *Clarence*, as they thought it necessary, not only to prevent all evident dangers that might ensue that way, but even the possibilities of all perill: as may well appear by the execution of *Ed. Earl of Warwick* before named

The K. of Scotlands destruction of more importance to the conspirators, then his mothers

The Earle of Salisburie disgraced by the competitors.

Gentl.

The vigilant eye that her Majesties ancestors had to the collateral line.

Persons
executed
of the house
of Claiſe

Son and heire to the ſaid Duke of *Clarence*, and of *Margaret* his ſiſter Counteſſe of *Salisbury*, with the Lord *Henry Montague* her ſonne, by whoſe Daughter the Earle of *Huntington* now claimeth. All which were executed for avoyding of inconveniencies, and that at ſuch times, when no imminent danger could be much doubted by that Line, eſpecially by the latter. And yet now when one of the ſame houſe and Line, of more ability and ambition, than ever any of his Anceſtors were, maketh open title and claime to the Crowne, with plots, packs, and preparations to moſt manifeſt uſurpation, againſt all order, all law, and all rightfull ſucceſſion: and againſt a ſpecial ſtatute provided in that behalfe: yet is he permitted, boine out, favoured, and friended therein: and no man ſo hardy, as in defence of her Majeſtie and the Realme to controule him for the ſame.

The exam-
ple of Iuli-
us Cæſars
deſtruction.

It may be that her Majeſtie is brought into the ſame opinion of my Lord of *Huntington*: fidelity, as *Iulius Cæſar* was of *Marcus Brutus*, his deareſt obliged friend: of whoſe ambitious practices, and aſpiring, when *Cæſar* was advertiſed by his carefull friends; he answered, that hee well knew *Brutus* to be ambitious, but I am ſure (quoth he) that my *Brutus* will never attempt any thing for the Empire while *Cæſar* liveth: and after my death let him ſhift for the ſame among others, as he can. But what enſued? Surely I am loath to tell the event for ominations ſake, but yet all the world knoweth that ere many moneths paſſed, this moſt noble and Clement Emperour was pittifully murdered by the ſame *Brutus* and his partners in the publique Senate, when leaſt of all he expected ſuch

such treason. So dangerous a thing it is to be secure in a matter of so great sequell, or to trust them with a mans life, who may pretend preferment or interest by his death.

Wherefore, would God her Majestie in this case might be induced to have such due care and regard of her own estate and royall person, as the weighty moment of the matter requireth; which containeth the blisse and calamity of so noble and worthy a kingdome as this.

I know right well, that most excellent natures are alwayes furthest off from diffidence in such people as proves love, and are most bounden by dutie: and so it is evident in her Maiestie. But yet surely, this confidence so commendable in other men, is scarce allowable oftentimes in the person of a Prince: for that it goeth accompanied with so great perill, as is inevitable to him that will not suspect principally when dangers are foretold or presaged, (as commonly by Gods appoyntment they are, for the speciall hand he holdeth over Princes affaires) or when there is probable conjecture, or just surmise of the same.

We know that the forenamed Emperor *Cæsar*, had not onely the warning given him of the inclination and intent of *Brutus* to usurpation, but even the very day when hee was going towards the place of his appoynted destiny, there was given up into his hands a detection of the whole treason, with request to read the same presently, which he upon confidence omitted to doe. Wee read also of *Alexander* the great, how hee was not onely forbidden by a learned man to enter into *Babylon* (whither he was then going) for that there was treason meant against him in the place,

but also that he was foretold of *Antipaters* mischievous

Too much confidence verie perilous in a Prince.

The example of Alexander the great, how hee was foretold his danger.

chievous meaning against him in particular. But the yong Prince having so well deserved of *Antipater*, could not be brought to mist ust the man that was so deare unto him: and by that meanes was poysoned in a banquet by three sons of *Antipater*, which were of most credit and confidence in the Kings Chamber.

Schollar.

Here, truly, my heart did some what tremble with feare, horror, and detestation of such events. And I said unto the Gentleman: I beseech you Sir, in talke no more of these matters; for I cannot well abide to heare them named: hoping in the Lord that there is no cause, nor ever shall be, to doubt the like in *England*: especially from these men, who are so much bound to her Majesty, and so forward in seeking out, and pursuing all such as may be thought to be dangerous to her Majesties person, as by the fundiy late executions wee have have seen, and by the punishments every way of Papists we may perceive.

Late executions.

Gentl.

Truth it is (quoth the Gentleman) that justice hath bin done upon divers of late, which contenteth me greatly, for the terrour and restraint of others, of what sect or religion soever they be: And it is most necessary (doubtles) for the compressing of parties, that great vigilance be used in that behalfe. But when I consider, that only one kind of men are touched herein: and that all speech, regard, doubt, distrust, and watch is of them alone; without reflection of eye upon other mens doings or designements: when I see the double diligence and vehemency of certaine instruments, which I like not, bent wholly to raise wonder and admiration of the people, feare, terrour, and attention to the doings, sayings, and meanings of one party or faction alone, and of that namely and only which these

these conspirators esteem for most dangerous and opposite to themselves: I am (beleeve me) often tempted to suspect fraud and false measure: and that these men deale, as wolves by nature in other Countries are wont to do: Which going together in great numbers to assaile a flocke of sheep by night, doe set some one or two of their company upon the wind side of the fold a far off, who partly by their sent and other bruteling, which of purpose they make, may draw the dogs and shepherds to pursue them alone, whiles the other doe enter and slay the whole flock. Or as rebels that meaning to surprize a Town, to turne away the Inhabitants from considering of the danger, and from defence of that place, where they intend to enter, doe set on fire some other parts of the Towne further off, and doe sound a false alarme at some gate, where is meant least danger.

Which art was used cunningly by *Richard D. of Yorke* in the time of King *Henrie the sixt*, when he to cover his owne intent, brought all the Realme in doubt of the doings of *Edmond Duke of Somerseset*, his enemy. But *John of Northumberland*, father to my Lord of *Leycester*, used the same art much more skilfully, when hee put all *England* in a maze and musing of the Protector, and of his friends: as though nothing could be safe about the yong King, untill they were suppressed: and consequently, all brought into his owne authority, without obstacle. I speake not this to excuse Papists, or to wish them any way spared wherein they offend: but onely to signifie that in a Countrey, where so potent factions bee, it is not safe, to suffer the one to make it selfe so puissant by pursuit of the other: as afterwards the Prince must remaine at the devotion of the stronger:

Fraud to be feared in pursuing one part or faction only.
The comparison of Wolves and Rebels.

Richard Duke of Yorke.

D. Dudley.

A good rule of policy.

stronger : but rather as in a body molested and troubled with contrarie humours, if all cannot be purged, the best Physick is without all doubt to reduce and hold them at such an equality, as destruction may not be feared of the predominant.

To this said the Lawyer laughing, yea marry Sir, I would to God your opinion might prevaile in this matter ; for then should wee bee in other tearmes then now we are. I was, not long since, in company of a certaine honourable Lady of the Court, who, after some speech passed by Gentlemen that were present, of some apprehended, and some executed, and such like affaires, brake into a great complaint of the present time, and therewith (I assure you) moved all the hearers to griefe (as women you know are potent in stirring of affections) and caused them all to wish that her Majesty had bene nigh to have heard her words.

*The speech
of a certain
Lady of the
Court.*

I doe well remember (quoth she) the first dozen yeares of her Highnesse reigne, how happy, pleasant and quiet they were, with all manner of comfort and consolation. There was no mention then of factions in religion, neither was any man much noted or rejected for that cause: so otherwise his conversation were civill and courteous. No suspition of treason, no talke of bloudshed, no complaint of troubles, miseries, or vexations, All was peace, all was love, all was joy, all was delight. Her Majesty (I am sure) took more Recreation at that time in one day, than she doth now in a whole week: and wee that served her Highnesse, enjoyed more contentation in a weeke, than we can now in divers yeares. For now, there are so many suspitions every where, for this thing, and for that, as we cannot tell whom to trust. So many melancholick in the Court, that seem male-

conten-

contented, so many complayning or suing for their friends that are in trouble: others slip over the Sea, or retire themselves upon the suddaine: so many tales brought us of this or that danger, of this man suspected, of that man sent for up, and such like unpleasant, and unfavorie stuffe; as we can never almost bee merry one whole day together.

Wherefore (quoth this Lady) wee that are of her Majesties traine and speciall service, and doe not onely feele these things in our selves, but much more in the grief of her most excellent Majesty whom we see dayly molested herewith (being one of the best natures, I am sure, that ever noble Princeesse was endued withall:) wee cannot but mone, to behold contentions advanced so far forth as they are: and we could wish most heartily that for the time to come these matters might passe with such peace, friendship, and tranquillity, as they doe in other Countreyes, where difference in religion breaketh not the band of good fellowship, or fidelity. And with this in a smiling manner she brake off, asking pardon of the company, if she had spoken her opinion over boldly, like a woman.

More moderation wished in matters of faction.

To whom answered a Courtier that sate next her: Madame, your Ladiship hath said nothing in this behalfe, that is not dayly debated amongst us, in our common speech in Court as you know. Your desire also herein is a publick desire, if it might be brought to passe: for there is no man so simple, that seeth not how perilous these contentions and divisions among us may bee in the end. And I have heard divers Gentlemen that be learned, discourse at large upon this argument: alleaging old examples of the Athenians, Lacedemonians,

The speech of a Courtier.

The perill of divisions & factions in a Commonwealth demonians, Carthigenians, and Romans, who received notable dammages, and destruction also in the end, by their divisions and frictions among themselves, and specially from them of their own Cities and Countries, who upon factions lived abroad with Forrainers: and thereby were always as fire-brands, to carry home the flame of Waire upon their Countrey.

The like they also shewed by the long experience of all the great Cities and States of *Italy* which by their factions and forucites, were in continuall gar boyle, bloud-shed and miserie. Whereof our owne countrey hath also tasted her part, by the odious contention between the houses of *Lancaster* and *Yorke*: wherein it is marvellous to consider, what trouble a few men oftentimes, departing out of the Realme, were able to worke by the part of their faction remaining at home (which commonly encreaseth toward them that are absent) & by the readines of for ayn Princes, to receive alwayes, and comfort such as are discontented in another state: to the end, that by their meanes, they might hold an Ore in their neighbours boat: Which Princes that are nigh borderers, doe alwayes above all other things most covet and desire.

The dangerous sequel of dissention in our Realme.

This was that Courtiers speech and reason, whereby I perceived, that aswell among them in Court, as among us in the Realme and Countrey abroad, the present inconvenience and dangerous sequell of this our home dissention, is espyed, and consequently most English hearts inclined to wish the remedy or prevention thereof, by some reasonable moderation, or re-union among ourselves. For that the prosecution of these differences to extremitie, canaot but after many wounds
and

and exulcerations bring matters finally to rage, fury, and most deadly desperation.

Whereas on the other side, if any sweet qualification, or small tolleration among us were admitted: there is no doubt, but that affaires would passe in our Realme with more quietnesse, safety and publike weale of the same, then it is like it will doe long: and men would easily be brought, that have English bowells, to joyne in the preservation of their Countrey from ruine, bloudshed, and forraine oppression, which desperation of factions is wont to procure.

I am of your opinion (quoth the Gentleman) in that, for I have seene the experience thereof, and all the world beholdeth the same at this day, in all the Countries of *Germanie, Polonia, Bermanland, and Hungarie*: where a little bearing of the one with the other, hath wrought them much ease, and continued them a peace, whereof all *Europe* besides hath admiration and envie. The first 12 years also of her Majesties reign, whereof your Lady of the Court discoursed of before, can well bee a witnessse of the same: wherein the commiseration and lenity that was used towards those of the weaker sort, with a certaine sweet diligence for their gaining, by good means was the cause of much peace, contentation, and other benefit to the whole body.

Wee see in *France*, that by over much pressing of one part onely, a fire was inkindled not many yeares since, like to have consumed and destroyed the whole: had not a necessary mollification been thought upon by the wisest of that Kings Councell full contrary to the will and inclination of some great personages, who meant perhaps to have gained more by the other:
and

Gentl.

Examples
of tolleration
in matters
of religion.

Germany.

The breach
of union
again in
France.

and since that time we see what peace, wealth, and re-union hath ensued in that Countie that was so broken, dissevered, and wasted before. And all this, by yeelding a little in that thing, which no force can master, but exulcerate rather, and make worse: I mean the conscience and judgement of men in matters of Religion.

Flanders.

The like also I could name you in *Flanders*, where after all these broyles and miseries of so many yeares warres (caused principally by too much streyning in such affaires at the beginning) albeit the King bee never so strict-laced, in yeelding to publike liberty, and free exercise on both parts: yet is he descended to this at length (and that upon force of reason) to abstaine from the pursuit and search of mens consciences, not only in the townes, which upon composition hee receiveth, but also where he hath recovered by force, as in *Torrey*, and other places: where I am informed that no man is searched, demanded, or molested for his opinion or conscience, nor any act of Papistry or contrary religion required at their hands, but are permitted to live quietly to God and themselves, at home in their owne houses: so they performe otherwise their outward obedience and duties to their Prince and Countrey. Which only qualification, tollerance, and moderation in our Realme (if I bee not deceived, with many more that be of my opinion) would content all divisions, factions, and parties among us, for their continuance in peace: bee they Papiests, Puritans, Familians: or of whatsoever nice difference or section besides, and would be sufficient to reaine all parties within a temperate obedience to the Magistrate and government, for conservation of their Countrey: which were of no small importance.

rance to the contentation of her Majesty, and the weale publick of the whole kingdome.

But what should I talke of this thing which is so contrary to the desires and designements of our puissant Conspirators? What should *Cicero* the Senator use perswasions to Captaine *Cateline*, and his crew, that quietnesse and order were better than hurliburlies? Is it possible that our aspirors will ever permit any such thing, cause, or matter, to be treated in our state, as may tend to the stability of her Majesties present government? No surely, it standeth nothing with their wisdome or policy, especially at this instant, when they have such opportunity of following their owne actions in Her Majesties name, under the vizard and pretext of her defence and safety: having sowed in every mans head so many imaginations of the dangers present both abroad and at home: from *Scotland*, *Flanders*, *Spaine*, and *Ireland*: so man conspiracies, so many intended murthers, and others so many contrived or conceived mischiefes: as my Lord of *Leicester* assureth himselfe that the troubled water cannot be cleared againe in short space, nor his baits and lines laid therein, easily espyed: but rather, that hereby, ere long, he will catch the fish he gapeth so greedily after: and in the meane time, for the pursuit of these crimes, and other that he dayly will finde out, himselfe must remaine perpetuall Dictator.

But what meaneth this so much inculcating of troubles, treasons, murthers, and invasions? I like not surely these ominous speeches. And as I am out of doubt, that *Leicester* the caster of these shadowes, doth look to play his part first in these troublesome affaires: so doe I heartily feare, that
unlesse

Moderation impugned by the conspira. Cicero. Cateline.

The Conspirators opportunistic.

unlesse the tyranny of this *Leiceſtrian* fury bee speedily ſtopped, that ſuch miſerie to Prince and people (which the Lord for his mercies ſake turne from us) as never greater fell betwixt our miſerable Countrey, is far nearer hand than is expected or ſuſpected.

*Leyceſter
to be called
to account.*

And therefore for the prevention of theſe calamities, to tell you plainly mine opinion (good Sirs) and therewith to draw to an end of this our conference (for it waxeth late.) I would thinke it the moſt neceſſarie poynt of all for her Maieſty to call his Lordſhip to account among other, and to ſee what other men could ſay againſt him, at length, after ſo many yeates of his ſole accuſing, and purſuing of others. I know, and am very well aſſured, that no one act which her Maieſtie hath done ſince her comming to the Crowne (as ſhee hath done right many moſt highly to be commended) nor any that lightly her Maieſty may doe hereafter, can be of more utility to Her ſelte, and to the Realme, or, more gratefull to her faithfull and zealous ſubjects than his noble act of Juſtice would be, for tryall of this mans deſerts towards his Countrey.

I ſay it would be profitable to her Maieſty, and to the Realme, not onely in reſpect of the many dangers before mentioned, hereby to be avoyded, which are like to enſue moſt certainly, if his courſes bee ſtill permitted: but alſo for that her Maieſty ſhall by this, deliver Her ſelte from that generall grudge and grieſe of mind, with great diſlike, which many ſubjects, otherwiſe moſt faithfull, have conceived againſt the exceſſive favour ſhewed to this man ſo many yeates, without deſert or reaſon. Which favour he having uſed to the hurt, annoyance, and oppreſſion both of infinite
ſeverall

several persons, and the whole common-wealth (as hath bin said:) the grieffe and resentment thereof, doth redound commonly in such cases not only upon the person delinquent alone, but also upon the Sovereigne, by whose favour & authority he offers such iniuries, though never so much against the others intēt, d. s. ire or meaning.

And hereof we have examples of sundry Princes, in all ages and Countries, whose exorbitant favour to some wicked subiect that abused the same, hath bin the cause of great danger and ruine; the sins of the favourite being returned and revenged upon the favourer. As in the Historie of the *Grecians* is declared, by occasion of the pittifull murder of that wise and victorious P.

Philip of Macedony, who albeit, that he were well assured to have given no offence of himself to any of his subiects, & consequently feared nothing, but conversed openly and confidently among them: yet, for that hee had favoured too much one *Luke Attalus*, a proud and insolent Courtier, and had born him out in certain of his wickednes, or at least not punished the same after it was detected and complained upon: the parties grieved accounting the crime more proper; and heinous on the part of him, who by office should do iustice, & protect other, than of the perpetrator, who followeth his own passion and sensuality, let pass *Attalus*, & made their revenge upon the bloud & life of the K. himself, by one *Pausanias*, suborned for that purpose, in the marriage day of the Kings owne daughter.

*The death
K Philip
of Mace-
donie, and
cause there
of.*

Great store of like examples may be repeated, out of the stories of other countries, nothing being more usuall or frequent among all nations, than the afflictions of realms and kingdoms, and

Pausanias.

the overthrow of Princes and great Potentates themselves, by their too much affection towards some unworthy particular persons: a thing indeed to common and ordinary, as it may well seem to be the speciall Rock of all other, whereat Kings & Princes doe make their shipwacks.

For if we look into the states and Monarchies all Christendome, and consider the ruines that have bin of any Princes or Ruler within the same: we shall find this poynt to have bin a great and principall part of the cause thereof: and in our owne state and countrey, the matter is too evident. For whereas since the Conquest we number principally, three just and lawfull Kings, to have come to confusion, by alienation of their subjects: that is, *Edward* the second, *Rich.* the second, and *Henrie* the sixt: this only point of too much favour towards wicked persons, was the chiefest cause of destruction in all three. As in the first, the excessive favour towards *Peter Gaveston*, and two of the *Spencers*. In the second, the like extraordinarie, and indiscreet affection towards *Robert Vere*, *Lutle of Oxford*, and *Marquesse of Dublin*, and *Thomas Mowbray*, two most turbulent and wicked men, that set the K. against his own Vncles & the nobility. In the third (being a simple and holy man) albeit no great exorbitant affection was scene towards any, yet his wife *Queen Margarets* too much favour and credit (by him not controled, towards the *Marquesse of Suffolke*, that after was made Duke, by whose instigation and wicked Counsell, she made away first the noble Duke of *Gloucestre*, and afterward committed other things in great prejudice of the Realme, and suffered the said most impious and

Kings of England overthrowen by too much favouring of some particular men.

K. Edw. 2

K. Rich. 2.

K. Henr. 6.

sinful

sinfull Duke to range and make havock of all
 sort of subjects at his pleasure (much after the
 fashion of the Earle of *Leicester* now, though
 yet not in so high and extreame a degree: (this I
 say was the principall and originall cause, both
 before God and man, (as *Polidore* well noteth)
 of all the calamity and extreme desolation,
 which after ensued both to the King, Queene,
 and their onely child, with the utter extirpation
 of their family,

Pol. lib. 23
hist. Angl.

And so likewise now to speak in our particu-
 lar case, if there be any grudge or griefe at this
 day, any dislike, repining, complaint or mur-
 mure against her Majesties government, in the
 hearts of her true and faithfull subjects, who
 wish amendment of that which is amisse, and
 not the overthrow of that which is well: (as I
 trow it were no wisdom to imagine there
 were none at all:) I dare avouch upon Consci-
 ence, that either all, or the greatest part there-
 of, proceedeth from this man; who by the fa-
 vor of her Majesty so afflicteth her people as ne-
 ver did before him, either *Gaveston*, *Spencer*, *Vere*,
 or *Mowbray* or any other mischievous tirant, that
 abused most his Princes favour within our
 Realme of *England* Whereby it is evident how
 profitable a thing it should bee to the whole
 Realme, how honourable to her Majesty, and
 how gratefull to all her subjects, if this man at
 length might be called to his account.

Si (quoth the Lawyer) you alleage great rea- Lawyer.
 son, and verily I am of opinion, that if her Ma-
 jesty knew but the tenth part of this, which you
 have here spoken, as also her good subjects de-
 sires and complaint in this behalfe: she would
 well shew, that her Highnesse feareth not to

permit iustice to passe upon *Leicester*, or any other within her Realme, for satisfaction of her people, whatsoever some men may think and report to the contrary, or howsoever otherwise of her owne milde disposition towards the person, she have borne with him hitherto. For so we see that wise Princes can doe at times convenient, for peace and tranquillity, and publike weale: though contrary to their owne particular and peculiar inclination.

The punishment of
William
Duke of
Suffolk.

As to goe no further then to the last example named and alleaged by your selfe before: though *Queen Margaret* the wife of *K. Henrie* the sixth, had favoured most unfortunately many yeares together, *William Duke of Suffolk* (as hath bin said) whereby he committed manifold outrages, and afflicted the Realme by sundry meanes: yet she being a woman of great prudence, when she saw the whole Communalty demand justice upon him for his demerits, albeit she liked and loved the man still: yet for satisfaction of the people, upon so generall a complaint, shee was content first to commit him to prison, and afterward to banish him the Realme: but the providence of God would not permit him so to escape: for that he being incountred and taken upon the sea in his passage, he was beheaded in the ship, and so received some part of condigne punishment for his most wicked, loose, and licentious life.

And to seeke no more examples in this case, & we know into what favour and special grace *Sir Edmond Dudley*, my Lord of *Lecesters* good Grandfather was crept, with *King Henry* the seventh, in the latter end of his reigue: and what intollerable wickednesse and mischief he wrought

wrought against the whole Realme, and against infinite particular persons of the same, by the polings and oppressions which hee practised: wherby though the King received great temporall commodity at thattime, (as her Majesty doth nothing at all by the present extortions of his Nephew:) yet for justice sake, and for meere compassion towards his afflicted subiects, that complained grievously of this iniquity: that most vertuous and wise Prince King *Henrie* was content to put from him this lewd instrument, and devillish suggestor of new exactions: whom his sonne *Henrie* that ensued in the Crown, caused presently before all other busines, to be called publickly to account, and for his deserts to leese his head: So as where the interest of a whole Realme, or common cause of many, taketh place: the private favour of any one cannot stay a wise & godly Prince, (such as al the world knoweth her Maiesty to be) from permitting iustice to have her free passage.

The punishment of Edmond Dudley.

Truely it should not (quoth the Gentleman) for to that end were Princes first elected, and upon that consideration doe subiects both pay them tribute and obedience; to bee defended by them from iniuries and oppressions, and to see lawes executed, and iustice exercised, upon and towards all men with indifferency. And as for our particular case of my Lord of *Leycester*, I doe not see in right and equity how her Majesty may deny this lawfull desire and petition of her people. For if her highnesse doe permit and command the Lawes dayly to passe upon thieves and murderers without exception, and that for one fact onely, as by experience we see; how then can it be denyed in this man,

Gentl. The causes why Princes are chosen, and do receive obedience.

who in both kinds hath committed more enormous acts, then may be well recounted.

Leycesters
Thefts.

As in the first, of theft. not onely by spoiling and oppressing almost infinite private men, but also whole Towns, Villages, Corporations, and Countries, by robbing the Realme with inordinate licences, by deceiving the Crown with racking, changing and imbezeling the Lands, by abusing his Prince and Sovereigne in selling his favour both at home and abroad, with taking bribes for matter of justice, grace, request, supplication, or whatsoever sute else may depend upon the Court, or of the Prince's authority: with setting at sale, and making open market of whatsoever her Majesty can give, doe, or procure, be it spirituall or temporall. In which sort of traffick he committeth more theft oftentimes in one day than all the way-keepers, cut-purses, coufeners, pirates, burglars, or other of that art in a whole yeare, within the Realme

Leycesters
murthers.

And as for the second, which is murther, you have heard before somewhat said and proved: but yet nothing to that which is thought to have bin in secret committed upon divers occasions at divers times, in sundry persons, of different calling in both sexes, by most variable means of killing, poysoning, charming, inchanting, conjuring, and the like, according to the diversity of men, places, opportunities, and instruments for the same. By all which meanes, I think he hath more bloud lying upon his head at this day, crying vengeance against him at Gods hands, & her Majesty, than ever had private man in our Country: ere, were he never so wicked.

Wherein now, if we adde his other good behaviour, to his intollerable licentiousnesse in all filthy kinds

kind and manner of carnality, with all sort of *A heap of*
Wives, Friends, and Kinswomen: if wee add his *Leycesters*
 iniuries and dishonours, done hereby to infinite: if enormities
 we adde his treasons, treacheries, and conspiracies that would
 about the Crowne; his disloyall behaviour, and ha- be ready at
 tred against her Majesty, his ordinarie lying, and the day of
 common perjuring himselfe in all matters for his his triall.
 gain, both great and smal; his rapes and most vio-
 lent extortions upon the poore; his abusing of the
 Parliament and other places of justice, with the
 Nobility and whole Communalty besides; if we add
 also his open injuries which hee offereth daily to
 Religion, and the Minister: thereof, by tithing
 them, and turning all to his owne gaine; together
 with his manifest and known tyranny practised to-
 wards all estates abroad, throu hout all Shires of
 the kingdom; his dispoyling of both the Univer-
 sities, and discouraging of infinite notable wits
 there, from seeking perfection of knowleage and
 learning, (which otherwise were like to become
 notable) especially in Gods word (which giveth life
 unto the soule,) by defrauding them of the price
 and reward proposed for their travail in that kind,
 through his insatiable Simoniacall contracts: if I
 say, we should lay together all these enormities be-
 fore her Majesty, and thousands more in particu-
 lar, which might and would be gathered, if his day
 of his triall were but in hope to be granted. I do not
 see in equity and reason, how her Highnesse sitting
 in throne, and at the royall sterne, as shee doth,
 could denie her Subiects this most lawfull request;
 considering, that every one of these crimes apart,
 requireth justice of his owne nature; and much
 more all together ought to obtaine the same, at the
 hands of any good and godly Magistrate in the
 World.

Schollar.
*Her Majesty's
 tender heart
 towards
 the sea.*

No doubt (quoth I) but that these considerations must needs weigh much with any zealous Prince and much more with her most excellent Majesty whose tender heart towards her Realm and Subjects, is very well known of all men. It is not to be thought also but that her Highness hath intelligence of divers of these matters alleged, though not perhaps of all. But what would you have her Majesty to doe? perhaps the consultation of this affaire, is not, what were convenient, but what is expedient: not, what ought to be done in justice, but what may be done in safety. You have described my Lord before to be a great man, strongly furnished and fortified for all events. What if it be not secure to bark at the Bear that is so well britched? I speak unto you, but that which I heare in *Cambridge* and other places where I have passed: where every mans opinion is, that her Majesty standeth not in free choyse to doe what her selfe best liketh in that case, at this day.

Gentl.
*Leicester's
 friends
 shall
 think
 her
 Majesty
 to stand
 in
 feare
 of
 him.*

I know (said the Gentleman) that *Leicester's* friends give it out every where that her Majesty now, is their good Lords prisoner, and that they either will or must be directed by him for the time to come, except she will do worse: Which thing his Lordship is well contented should be spread abroad, and believed for two causes: the one to hold the people thereby more in awe of himself, than of their Sovereign: and secondly to draw her Majesty indeed by degrees to fear him. For considering with himselfe what hee hath done: and that it is impossible in truth that ever her Majesty should love him again, or trust him after so many treacheries as he well knoweth are come to her Highness understanding: he thinketh

that he hath no way of sure standing, but by terror and opinion of his puissant greatnesse; whereby he would hold her Majesty and the Realme in thraldome, as his father did in his time before him. And then, for that he wel remembreth the true saying, *Malus custos diuturnitatis, metus*: he must provide shortly, that those which feare him, be not able to hurt him: and consequently you know what must follow, by the example of K. *Edward*, who feared Duke *Dudley* extreemly for that he had cut off his two Uncles heads; and the Duke took order that he should never live to revenge the same. For it is a settled rule of *Machiavel*, which the *Dudlies* doe observe: *That, when you have once done a great injury, there must you never forgive.*

Cicero in Officio.

A rule of Machiavel observed by the Dudlies

But I will tell you (my friends) and I will tell you no ū truth, for that I know what I speak herein, and am privie to the state of my Lord in this behalfe, and of mens opinions and affections towards him within the Realme. Most certaine it is, that hee is strong by the present favour of the Prince (as hath bin shewed before) in respect whereof, he is admitted also as chief patron of the *Hurtington* faction, though neither loved, nor greatly trusted of the same: but let her Majesty once turn her countenance aside from him in good earnest, and speak but the word only, *that iustice shall take place against him*; and I will undertake with gaging of both my life and little lands that God hath given me, that without stir or trouble, or any danger in the world, the Beare shall be taken to her Majesties hand, and fast chained to a stake, with mouzell, cord, collar, and ring, and all other things necessary: so that her Majesty shal bait him at her pleasure, without all danger of byting, breaking loose, or any other inconvenience whatsoever.

Leycester strong onely by her Majesties favour.

An offer made for taking and tying the Beare.

For

For (Sirs) you must not think, that this man holdeth any thing abroad in the Realme but by violence, and that onely upon her Majesties favour and countenance towards him. He hath not any thing of his owne, either from his necessity, or of himselfe, to stay upon, in mens hearts or conceits: he hath not ancient Nobility, as other of our realm have, whereby mens affections are greatly moved. His father *John Dudley* was the first noble of his line; who raised and made himselfe big by supplanting of other, and by setting debate among the Nobilitie: as also his grandfather *Edmond*, a most wicked Promoter, and wretched Pettifogger, enriched himselfe by other mens ruine: both of them condemned Traitors, though different in quality, the one being a counsener, and the other a tyrant, and both of their vices conjoyned, collected, and comprised (with many more additions) in this man (or beast rather) which is *Robert*, the third of their kin and kind. So that from his ancestors, this Lord receiveth neither honour nor honesty, but onely succession of their sin and infamy.

And yet in himselfe hath he much lesse of good, wherewith to procure himselfe love or credit among men, than these ancestors of his had; he being a man wholly abandoned of humane vertue, and devoted to wickednes, which maketh men credible both to God and man. In his father (no doubt) there were to be seen many excellent good parts, if they had been joyned with faith, honesty, moderation and loyalty. For all the world knoweth that he was very wise, valiant, magnanimous, liberal, and assured friendly where he once promised of all which vertues my Lord his son hath neither shew nor shadow, but onely a certaine filthy

*Leicester
what hee
receiveth
from his
ancestors.*

*The com-
parison of
Leycester
with his
father.*

representation of the first, being craftie and subtile to deceive, and ingenious to wickednesse. For as for valour, he hath as much as hath a mouse: his magnanimity is base sordidity: his liberality rapine: his friendship plaine fraud, holding onely for his gaine, and no otherwise, though it were bound with a thousand oathes, of which he maketh as great account, as hens doe of cackling, but onely for his commodity: using them specially and in gryatest number, when most he meaneth to deceive. Namely, if he sweare solemnly by his *George*, or by the eternall God, then be sure it is a false lye: for these are observations in the Court: and sometimes in his owne lodging; in like case his manner is to take up and sweare by the Bible, whereby a Gentleman of good account, and one that seemeth to follow him, (as many do that like him but a little) protested to me of his knowledge, that in a very short space, hee observed him wittingly and willingly to be forsworn sixteen times.

This man therefore so contemptible by his ancestors, so odible of himselfe, so plunged, overwhelmed and defamed in all vice, so envyed in the Court, so detested in the Country, and not trusted of his owne and dearest friends; nay (which I am privie to) so disliked and hated of his owne servants about him, for his beastly life, nigardy, and Atheisme (being never seene yet to say one private prayer within his chamber in his life) as they desire nothing in this world so much as his ruine, and that they may be the first, to lay hands upon him for revenge. This man (I say) so broken both within & without, is it possible that her Majesty and her wise Councell should feare? I can never believe it, or if it be so, it is Gods permission without all cause, for punishment of our sins: for that

The weaknesse of Leycester if her Majesty turne but her countenance from him.

that this man, if he once perceiv indeed that they feare him, will handle them accordingly, and play the Beare indeed: which inconvenience I hope they will have care to prevent, and so I leave it to God, and them, craving pardon of my Lord of *Leicester* for my boldnes, if I have been too plin with him. And so I pray you let us goe to supper, for I see my servant expecting yonder at the Gallery doore to call us downe

Lawyer.
*The end
 and depar-
 ture from
 the Galle-
 rie.*

To that, said the Lawyer, I am content with all my heart, and I would it had beene sooner, that I am afraid, lest any by chance have overheard us here since night. For my owne part, I must say, that I have not been at such a conference this seven years, nor meane to be hereafter, if I may escape well with this; whereof I am sure I shall dreame this fortnight, and thinke oftner of my Lord of *Leicester*, than ever I had intended: God amend him and me both. But if ever I heare at other hands of these matters hereafter, I shall surely be quake britch, and thinke every bush a cheefe. And with that, came up the Mistress of the house to fetch us down to supper, and so all was husht, saying that at supper a gentleman or two began again to speak of my Lord, and that so conformable to some of our former speeche (as indeed it is the common talke at tables every where) that the old Lawyer began to shrink and be appaled, and to cast dry looks upon the Gentleman our friend, doubting lest something had been discovered of our conference. But indeed it was not so.

Pia et utilis Meditatio, desumpta
ex libro Iobi. Cap, 20.

HOc scio a principio, ex quo positus est homo super terram, quod laus impiorum brevis fit, et gaudium hypocrite ad instar puncti. Si ascenderit usque ad caelum superbia ejus, et caput ejus nubes tetigerit: quasi sterquilinum in fine perdetur, et qui eum viderant, dicent ubi est? velut somnium avolans non invenietur, transiet sicut visio nocturna. Oculus qui eum viderat, non videbit, neque ultra intuebitur eum locus suus. Filii eius atterentur egestate, et manus illius reddent ei laborem suum. Officia ejus implebuntur vitiiis et doloscentiae ejus, et cum eo in pulvere dormient. Panis ejus in utero illius vertetur in fil aspidum intrinsecus. Divitias quas devoravit, evomet, et de ventre illius extrahet eas Deus. Caput aspidum surget, et occidet eum lingua viperae. Luet quae fecit omnia, nec tamen consumetur. Iuxta multitudinem adinventio- num suarum, sic et sustinebit. Quonia cōstringens nudabit pauperes: domum rapuit, et non edificavit eam, nec est satiatus venter ejus, et cum habuerit quae concupierit possidere non poterit. Non remanet de cibo ejus, et propterea non permanebit de bonis ejus. Cū satiatus fuerit, ardebitur, aestuabit, et omnis dolor irruet super eum. Vinam impleatur venter ejus, ut immittat in eum (Deus) ira furoris sui, et pluat super illum bellum suum. Fugiet arma ferrea, et irruet in arcum aureum. Gladius eductus et egrediens de vagina sua, et fulgurans in avaritudine sua: Omnes tenebrae absconditae sunt in occultis ejus. Devorabit eum ignis qui non succeditur, affligetur relictus in tabernaculo suo. Apertum erit gremium domus illius, detrahetur in die furoris dei. Haec est pars hominis impii, a deo, et hereditas verborum ejus a domino.

and not builded the same. His womb's never satisfied, & yet when he hath that which he desired, he shall not be able to possess the same. There remaineth no part of his meat (for the poore:) and therefore there shall remaine nothing of his goods. When his belly is full then shall he begin to be straitned, then shall he sweat, and all kinde of sorrow shall rush upon him. I would his belly were once full, that God might send out upon him the rage of his fury, and raine upon him his war. He shall flye away from Iron weapons, and run upon a bow of brasfe. A drawne sword coming out of his skabard shall flash as lightning in his bitterneffe. All darknesse lye hidden for him in secret: the fire that needeth no kindling shall devoure him, and hee shall be tormented alone in his tabernacle. The off-spring of his house shall be made open, and pulled down,

*His griefe.**His affliction.**His damnation.**His posterity.*

in the day of Gods fury. This is the portion of a wicked man from God, and this is the inheritance of his substance from the Lord.

FINIS.



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